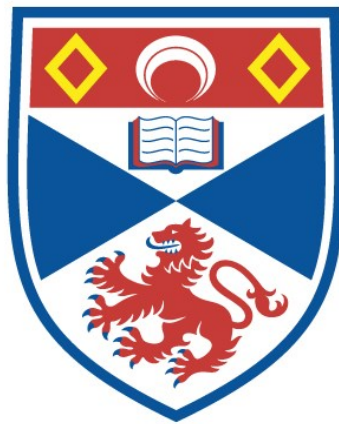


STUDIES IN THE ELEMENT-ORDER OF SELECTED WORKS OF ÆLFRIC

Graeme John Davis

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Abstract

This thesis provides a descriptive study of element-order (or word-order) within clauses in a corpus drawn from Ælfric's Catholic Homilies and Supplementary Homilies. A sample of 11,543 clauses has been analysed, divided into fourteen clause categories. A survey of element-order within each clause category is presented, with copious examples and full statistics. Attention is paid both to the order of single elements in relation to the verb phrase, and to patterns of clause order. An extensive description of the position of adverbial elements is included. Discussion includes a comparison of the rhythmic and non-rhythmic prose of Ælfric, showing that though there is broad similarity between the two styles, significant differences do exist. The results obtained reveal many regularities or marked tendencies in element-order, as well as a substantial measure of stylistic freedom.

Declarations

I, Graeme John Davis, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 95,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

SignatureDate

21/06/91

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 in October 1988 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in March 1989; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1988 and 1991.

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I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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Acknowledgements

I acknowledge with gratitude financial support for this thesis provided by the British Academy in the form of a Major State Studentship. For financial assistance for research expenditure I am indebted to the University of St. Andrews Travel Fund, and to the English Departmental Research Grant.

To George Jack I am indebted for his careful supervision. My thanks to him for sharing his scholarship, for his always constructive criticism, and for his interest in the project.

Special thanks are due to my parents for their support during the research and writing of this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Nature of this Thesis

This thesis aims to make a contribution towards understanding of Old English element-order¹ as exemplified by the work of Ælfric, and to examine the differences in element-order between the non-rhythmic prose of Catholic Homilies (CH) and the rhythmic prose of Supplementary Homilies (SH).

1.2 Survey of Previous Studies

The literature on element-order in Old English is copious, ranging from brief notes in grammars to specialist works.

The standard grammars and manuals of Old English need be considered here only briefly, for they devote their efforts chiefly to considerations of phonology and morphology. Element-order, if it appears at all, is treated as if as an afterthought, and often in an impressionistic manner, a state of affairs which has done much to create and perpetuate the myth of the great freedom of Old English element-order. Though it is possible to find notes on element-order from as early as 1817,² Mätzner's grammar of 1860 appears to be the first to make a real attempt at description. For the most part, however, nineteenth-century grammars are disappointing. Thus although, for example, both March (1870) and Kellner (1892) do devote a few pages to element-order, they are superficial in their coverage,

¹ Element-order is preferable to word-order as the former is precise in its meaning, see Mitchell (1985) §3887.

² Rasmus Rask, Angelsaksisk Sproglære, Stockholm, 1817.

while Sweet (1898) gives no more than sporadic comments on Old English element-order as a comparison with that of Modern English.

From the early twentieth century onwards sections on element-order are found in most of the grammars. The works of Huchon (1923) and Mossé (1945) are of special note. These accounts, however, need to be read with care. Mossé, for instance, correctly points out that the elements subject, verb and object can appear in all six positions (S-V-O, S-O-V, V-S-O, V-O-S, O-S-V, O-V-S) in both prose and verse, but fails to indicate that some of these positions are far more common than others. The account is misleading in that it suggests a far greater degree of freedom than in fact exists. Smirnitsky (1955, §234), writing for Russian learners of Old English,³ states the then standard view of the freedom of Old English, but continues to offer a sensible qualification - in Old English, as in Russian, order may be found within the variety of element-order patterns. Quirk and Wrenn's grammar (1955) deserves praise for its clear and concise eleven paragraph introduction to the subject.³ Within the constraints of a grammar designed for literary students this succeeds admirably. It points out that it is easy to exaggerate the freedom shown by Old English element-order, for in fact there are considerable areas which do conform to describable patterns. Strangely this lesson has not been learnt by all succeeding grammarians, and the myth of free element-order persists.⁴

There are descriptive studies of specific aspects of the question of Old English element-order, based on a limited corpus of texts. Their quality differs greatly as a result of varying sample sizes, varying methodologies by which the data are interpreted, and

³ §§137-148; pp. 87-95.

⁴ For instance F. Th. Visser, An Historical Syntax of the English Language, part III, Leiden, 1973, §1991, footnote 1: "... word order in Old English was so free that serious offences against it were not easily perpetrable".

varying degrees of care with which the project has been undertaken. As a result, only a handful are of particular interest today. These studies offer depth, but little perspective, and in many cases their application is far from clear. There have also been diachronic studies, which seek to show the historical development of patterns of element-order. These offer perspective, but are generally derived from a series of small samples, and therefore lacking in depth. Many descriptive studies do comment upon historical features, so there is no sharp division between these two types of studies.

Among the earliest descriptive works are those of Smith (1893), Todt (1894) and Ries (1907). Smith makes a comparative study based upon an examination of two texts: King Alfred's Orosius and Ælfric's Homilies. The study indicates that the difference in element-order patterns between principal and subordinate clauses was being levelled. It is important today chiefly because it is this study which establishes the "traditional" view of Old English element-order by distinguishing between S-V, S...V and V-S patterns, called "normal", "transposed" and "inverted". The studies of Todt and Ries both present a description of the element-order of Beowulf; both are in the form which may be called traditionalist, concerning themselves first of all with the relative position of subject and verb, then with the position of other elements in relation to the subject and verb, and in relation to one another. Their chief contribution to the study of element-order is their distinction between those elements which are syntactically light, and those which are heavy.

Numerous studies of the element-order of a particular monument were carried out using the traditionalist techniques of analysis, including those of Kube (1886), Dahlstedt (1901), Roth (1914) and Rothstein (1922). Such studies are of limited use today, and often presented in a most unappealing manner. Schmidt (1980) is in my view correct in describing the work of Dahlstedt as "virtually

unintelligible to the modern reader". In contrast to such studies are works which set out specifically to understand the historical development of element-order patterns. In particular the problem of the relative order of the decay of the Old English case system and the introduction of fixed element-order patterns has provoked debate. Among the twentieth century studies that of Hübener (1920-1) argues that a growing fixity of element-order was responsible for the wearing down of case endings: "die wichtigste Wortstellungsentwicklung im ags. dem Flexion Schwund vorausging" (p. 93). A similar opinion is expressed by Horn (1928), who argues that fixity of element-order is a factor undermining the inflectional system. The alternative view was espoused by several scholars,⁵ who argued that the decay in inflectional endings preceded as cause the movement towards fixed element-order. This alternative view seems unsatisfactory because, as Jespersen (1922) points out, were inflectional endings to have decayed before element-order became fixed, there would have been an intervening period during which speech was scarcely intelligible. It is more plausible therefore, argues Jespersen, to see the evolution of fixed element-order as preceding the loss of inflectional endings.

This question was taken up in the 1930s and 1940s by a series of studies at the University of Michigan,⁶ all utilising the techniques of structuralism. Among these, Fries (1940) indicated that syntactic relationships in Old English were expressed by inflection rather than element-order, while Magers (1944) came to the apparently contradictory conclusion that subject-verb-object order was a

⁵ These include Humboldt (1880) and Morsbach (1897).

⁶ In addition to those noted in the text are Thomas, R., "Syntactic Processes Involved in the Development of the Adnominal Periphrastic Genitive in the English Language", Michigan dissertation, 1931, and Cassidy, Frederick G., "The Backgrounds in Old English of the Modern English Substitutes for the Dative Object in the Group Verb plus Dative Object plus Accusative Object", Michigan dissertation, 1939.

definite trend by the tenth century, suggesting that the use of element-order as a syntactic marker preceded the levelling of inflectional endings. Subsequent work has indicated the validity of Magers' conclusions. Saitz (1955), for example, examined the inflectional distinction between subject and object in ninth-century texts, and concluded that 59% of the forms were inflectionally non-distinctive. The inference that element-order patterns must have played a part in marking syntax follows readily. The complex structuralist work of Reszkiewicz (1966) declines to view Old English element-order as either "free" or "fixed", asserting rather that it was regulated by well defined principles, fundamentally different from those of Middle English, and that any deviation from the norm was, as a rule, significant.

More recently a significant contribution towards the understanding of element-order has been made by Carlton (1970). He sets out to examine Old English element-order using the evidence offered by original charters from the period 805-1066, material which enables Carlton to distinguish and contrast usage of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. His material is studied first in terms of inflection, which Carlton suggests is the prime syntactic signal in Old English, then in terms of the secondary syntactic signal of the order of elements. In his account of this latter topic, Carlton adopts the policy of comparing first just two basic elements at a time, as the relative order of subject and verb, or the order of direct and indirect objects. Only once these basic patterns have been established does he seek to understand the order of all elements within a clause. This system is effective, for by proceeding in this manner he makes it easy to see patterns within the material. A shortcoming of the work is that Carlton says little about complex verbs, a category which has few examples in the charter material he analyses, but which is frequently found elsewhere in the Old English

corpus.

From his careful study Carlton is able to conclude that discernible element-order patterns are usually followed, even when inflections are unambiguous; when the inflections do not make the syntax clear patterns of element-order can generally be relied upon as indicators of the syntax. In effect Carlton provides a solution to the question of the relative order of the loss of inflectional endings and the development of element-order patterns as markers of syntax: he suggests that element-order patterns existed as syntactic markers at a time when English displayed full inflections. In his final sentence he concludes "the syntax of Old English does not depend wholly upon one type or system for indicating the relationship between words; it employs both inflection and word order, which may operate simultaneously, or may supplement one another" (p.195).

Sprockel (1973) provides an informative survey of element-order in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (MS. Parker) for the annals 1-924. The stated aim is "to sketch a clear picture, even though it will not be a complete one" (p. 277), and in this Sprockel has some success. The study suffers from weaknesses of an inadequate sample size, and a methodology which is not sufficiently discriminating in its clause categories. Schmidt (1980) provides additional evidence for some element-order patterns in Old English, suggesting the function of inversion in various environments, and that changes in the function of inversion between Old and Modern English have resulted in changes in its occurrence.

In contrast to the structuralist approach adopted by the majority of American studies stands a multitude of different approaches from European scholars, many of them blending elements of structuralist and traditionalist techniques, a few branching out on their own idiosyncratic methodology.

The works of Andrew (1934, 1940 and 1948) are based in the

traditionalist manner of element-order analysis. He asserts the existence of three different kinds of element-order patterning in Old English, which he calls "common order" (subject-verb-object order), "conjunctive order" (subject-object-verb, usual in subordinate clauses), and "demonstrative order" (verb-subject-object, usually found after demonstrative adverbs). This is a sound division as far as it goes, but must ultimately be regarded as an over-simplification. Material for his studies is drawn from a variety of texts in both prose and verse, and including Ælfric's Lives of Saints. The works warrant criticism for their assumption that usage in verse generally agrees with that of prose, an idea which it is scarcely possible for a student to hold today, and for Andrew's apparent belief in inflexible rules of syntax. His method is to formulate rules, then to test them by looking for counter-examples. A result of this procedure is that statistics for the occurrence of patterns which conflict with Andrew's rules are not always available.

An alternative to such descriptive work is offered by the diachronic study of Fourquet (1938). This is based upon the theory that if two languages show the same feature (in phonology, morphology or syntax), then the two languages may be assumed to have passed through parallel linguistic development, even although there may be no direct evidence of this development in one of the languages. Working from this premise, Fourquet distinguishes five stages in the evolution of element-order in the Germanic languages. The first, or "primitive" stage is represented by Gothic, the second by Beowulf, the third by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (to 891) and Old Saxon Heliand, the fourth by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (892-925), Old High German Isidor and Old Norse Edda, and the fifth and final stage is seen as that of divergent development in the Germanic languages. Thus from Old English two texts are considered, Beowulf and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (MS. Parker), and for this reason alone the

thesis is well worth the attention of the student of Old English element-order. It is reasonable to assume, as Fourquet does, that certain characteristics of patterns of early element-order may be derived from later evidence. However the application of this principle is problematic because of the nature of some of the sources used. The Gothic and Old High German languages are represented by translations from Greek and Latin respectively, which may influence their syntax, while other texts, with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, are verse texts. Nonetheless, despite doubts which the reader may have about the validity of making comparisons of element-order patterns in different languages, and in assuming (for instance) that the order of elements in primitive Old English can be determined from that of Gothic, the work may be appreciated for its care and clarity, and deserves a sympathetic reading; its influence can be seen in later studies, notably that of Bacquet (1962), whilst other researchers have suffered through their ignorance of Fourquet's work.⁷

Diachronic studies such as those carried out by Fourquet encounter numerous difficulties. It would undoubtedly help if the element-order of Indo-European were established, for at least then such studies would have a firm (if remote) starting point. Miller's question "Indo-European: VSO, SOV, SVO, or all three?"⁸ is however far from being answered. In the case of primitive Germanic it is generally accepted that verbal end position existed at one stage, with gradual movement of the verb into contact position (immediately following the subject), but this is far from a complete understanding of element-order patterns in this stage of the language.

Barrett (1953), by contrast, works within a strictly traditionalist framework. He offers the only detailed work on Ælfric's element-order,

⁷ Notably Barrett (1953).

⁸ Article title, Lingua 37, 1975, pp. 31-52.

drawing his data from a sample of Ælfric's corpus smaller than is really adequate, but larger than that used by most other researchers: eleven of the Catholic Homilies and three of the Lives of Saints. His material is divided between the non-rhythmic prose of the Catholic Homilies and the rhythmic prose of the Lives of Saints, giving scope for a comparison of the element-order of these two prose styles. The work is carried out using quantitative methods, and has the appearance of great accuracy, for Barrett gives his findings to the nearest tenth of a percent; I would suggest however that this is a delusion of accuracy, for Barrett is rarely considering a large enough sample to make such results meaningful.⁹ Barrett looks first at the relationship between subject-verb (direct) order and verb-subject (inverted) order, then the overall element-order in clauses showing direct order and inversion. In independent clauses he finds that head-words are the most common cause of inversion, sometimes serving to connect the clause with the preceding clause, sometimes satisfying rhythmic considerations. In clauses without heads, inversion serves for emphasis, particularly when the clause is negative. In direct order clauses the change from synthetic order (subject ... verb) to analytic order (subject-verb) is found to be advanced. Rhythmic prose is shown to influence element-order in clauses by a tendency for a rhythmically light element to fall between two heavy elements. However, inversion was generally avoided in the rhythmic prose in independent clauses without heads.

Unfortunately Barrett's figures cannot be relied upon, as the

⁹ Frequently samples used are inadequate, for example a total of only 13 instances p. 13 §15, 20 instances p. 16 §19, and 10 instances p. 19 §24, and very many other instances. Occasionally results are in my view misinterpreted because Barrett does not recognise the limitations of his sample size. On p. 39 group B has a χ^2 value of 2.74 with 1 d.f., with a probability of chance occurrence greater than one in twenty, which on normal assumptions cannot be taken to show that the differences between pronominal and nominal distribution is significant, though Barrett states "there is considerably more inversion with nominal than with pronominal subjects".

study contains a fundamental flaw. Barrett fails to take into account the influence on element-order of the conjunctions ond, ac and ne. Mitchell¹⁰ is rightly critical of this error, for it does invalidate much of the study. It is an error which should have been avoided, for this issue is referred to by Fourquet. Barrett's division of clauses into those with heads (grouping together conjoined clauses, and those dependent clauses which have a head) and those without a head (non-conjoined independent clauses, and dependent clauses without a head) is unhelpful and misleading. Barrett can also be criticised for the brevity of his conclusion.

In a subsequent article (1967) Barrett offers a continuation of his previous study, looking at the issue of the placing of the direct object. From a study of main clauses which contain subject, simple verb and direct object, he seeks to establish the element-order patterns of Ælfric's narrative prose, seeing his results as part of the wider question of the freedom of Old English element-order. A sample of rhythmic prose is analysed as above and contrasted with the narrative prose, with a view to establishing the extent to which the differences between the Catholic Homilies and the Lives of Saints can be attributed to the alliterative form of the latter. He concludes that differences in the basic element-order pattern between the narrative and rhythmic prose are slight. Where there is no inversion the order subject - verb - direct object is found to predominate, though if the object is a pronoun the order subject - direct object - verb "appears to be the norm" (p. 201). The pattern direct object - subject - verb was found in cases where the object was emphasised for rhetorical purposes. In cases where inversion exists the pattern verb - subject - direct object is found to predominate. Barrett suggests that, in main clauses at least, element-order patterns were "already reasonably firmly fixed" (p. 201).

¹⁰ Mitchell (1966) review of Barrett (1962).

These comments about style are a welcome addition to the purely statistical commentary of Barrett's previous study. However there is room for criticism on two grounds. First, though Barrett analyses substantial sections of his texts, his relevant sample (i.e. clauses which contain subject, verb and direct object) is far too small to yield reliable results: 244 examples from Catholic Homilies and 212 examples from Lives of Saints. In the second place, the issue considered is simply that of placing the direct object, when in fact an element-order study should concern itself with many more features than just this one if it is to make meaningful comments about style.

Barrett's figures have been used by Funke (1956) in a comparative study of Ælfric's prose and the poem The Battle of Maldon, which are contemporary pieces. He finds considerable differences between the two. Inversion of subject and verb in clauses without heads is rare in Ælfric (about 5% in the rhythmic prose and 10% in the narrative prose). In Maldon, by contrast, this figure is 35%, which Funke suggests is characteristic of the old epic style. Strangely in the case of this feature it is Ælfric's narrative rather than rhythmic prose which is closer to the position of the poem. Inversion after the head þa is so regular in Ælfric as to be considered a rule, while in Maldon there are five examples where inversion fails in this environment; once again Funke suggests that this indicates that Maldon is closer to epic poetry than to Ælfric. Thus Funke shows that "there was still a remarkable difference between Ælfric's prose (whether ordinary or rhythmic) and the Maldon poem".

Bacquet (1962) offers a thorough study of a particular area of Old English syntax: the element-order of the clause in the age of Alfred. His method is to make an exhaustive study of the Cura Pastoralis, and use this with additional material as a basis for a

diachronic study of developments from the ninth to the twelfth century. His division of clauses is usually sound, with clear distinction made between main and dependent clauses, and attention paid to the concept of element weight. Of particular interest is his concern to consider clauses separately according to the number of elements which they contain; though this is not unique to Bacquet it is a feature which has been developed by him, and which appears to have some relevance to the consideration of element-order. A theme of the work is the concept of base element-order patterns which may be modified for stylistic reasons, thus refuting once again the idea of structural freedom in Old English. The development within the study of the concepts of "ordre de base" and "ordre marqué" is a particularly useful contribution to element-order studies. Criticisms of the work for the most part concern presentation - I find it over-long, repetitive, and badly organised - though its importance is such that the reader must adapt to these difficulties. Failure to indicate the size of the sample under consideration makes utilisation of Bacquet's work for purposes of comparison with other studies difficult; this is a point which is returned to in chapter four of this thesis.

An attempt to compare theories about changes in element-order patterns with attested developments is made by Bean (1983), who examines portions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle with a view to charting developments in Old English element-order on the way to becoming Modern English. She is interested in particular in the movement from subject - complement - verb order to subject - verb - complement order, and asks what (if any) were the intermediate stages, and what were the motivations for the change. It is a careful work, perhaps a little hesitant in reaching conclusions, resorting instead to an unconvincing declaration of probability: "... the most probable direction of change in Old English does appear to have been

directly from verb-final to verb-third ... although the proof offered here is often indirect ... it is hoped that the evidence presented is sufficient to establish that this particular hypothesis ... is valid" (p. 139).

Denison (1986) too looks at the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (892-898) for his study. His survey is brief, but of particular interest because of his concluding comments that "what is needed is a genuinely multi-factorial approach" (p. 293) to questions of element-order. This is, in my view, a concept of fundamental importance for an element-order study.

Largely neglected in element-order study is the issue of the position of the adverbial within the clause. Daron (1974) has addressed this topic in an analysis of 1,451 clauses taken from a corpus of ninth and tenth century Old English. This sample is scarcely large enough - especially when divided into Daron's forty-eight clause patterns - but the general conclusions deserve note:

Generally, the shorter the adverbial, the earlier in the clause it appeared. single word adverbials which modified a word rather than the whole clause came immediately before the word modified; phrasal adverbials which modified words followed them. ... Adverbials of time occurred earlier in the clause than place or manner ... The factor most influential in the placement of adverbials was the clause pattern. (p. v).

Though by no means a definitive work, Daron does offer a contribution to a neglected subject.

Despite the achievements of the studies described above, the study of Old English element-order is still in its infancy. In his two-volume Old English Syntax (1985), Mitchell devotes one chapter to element-order,¹¹ which is much less detailed than other chapters within the work, a state of affairs explained by the disclaimer "space does not permit more than a summary of the basic facts" (§3890). His

¹¹ Volume II, chapter IX, §§3887-3951, pp. 957-986.

intention is to indicate both what work has been done, and what work needs to be done. Most striking of the problems faced by the student of element-order is the lack of a standard form for such a study, a state of affairs which contrasts markedly with the study of phonology and morphology, where, in its broad outlines at least, a generally accepted format is available to researchers. Though several writers have addressed this problem¹² no clear solution has emerged. The best guides seem to be those works which illustrate a clear and informative approach to the study of element-order.

It is instructive to consider briefly some alternative avenues which may be explored in considering Old English element-order. There is a voluminous literature which touches briefly upon element-order as this matter concerns the special topic under consideration. This thesis has benefitted in particular from discussions offered by Behre (1934), Dekeyser (1987), Molencki (1987/8) and MacLeish (1969). There are a number of Japanese studies, of varying quality, including those of Fujiwara (1988) and Yamakawa (1971). Some material is available in Russian, which is difficult to obtain, and which is frequently ignored both by students of syntax and by the compilers of bibliographies, though the studies do offer detailed and original contributions to some aspects of Old English syntax, including element-order. Within this thesis note has been taken of Smirnitsky (1955), Snyegiryeva (1962) and Vasil'yeva (1958); these items contain useful bibliographies for both Russian and East European works on Old English syntax. A study of Old English element-order should not be conducted without an awareness of the progress of element-order study in other languages, in which context I have found Old High German to be most useful. In general element-order study is less advanced in Old High

¹² These include Tesnière (1934) and Small (1936).

German than in Old English,¹³ but is of interest in that it considers some areas of element-order largely ignored in Old English, including theoretical work on the determination of element-order, and the motivation for element-order change. Of interest to the student of Old English syntax are comments such as those made by Keller (1978), who asserts that word-order in Old High German is determined by four factors: it may be absolute (grammatically determined), emphatic, rhythmic, or in response to considerations of weight; he notes that it is often difficult to determine which of these factors has produced a given word-order pattern. These four factors are applicable (among others) to Old English. Old High German has been studied with a view to determining why element-order has changed in German. As is the case in English, the development of German element-order is one of a progressive restriction in freedom, though while scholars of English have concentrated on the reduction of inflection as either cause or consequence of the increasing fixity of element-order, in German, a language which has retained its inflectional structure, other causes for the change in element-order have been sought - factors¹⁴ which may well be relevant to the diachronic study of English.

¹³ Shortcomings of Old High German work is indicated by Greule (1982 and 1985): work on Old High German Syntax is often restricted to a single text, and is frequently impressionistic or abbreviated, the extant works in Old High German are almost entirely translations from Latin, many of them in the form of interlinear glosses, while the whole area of study is hampered by the lack of a comprehensive syntax of the language. Element-order studies in particular are disappointing. Thus, for instance, Ebert (1978) merely reiterates the generally accepted view that the verb in Old High German is usually in final position, followed only by heavy elements, though notes that initial position is frequently found in poetry.

¹⁴ These factors are summarised by Priebisch and Collinson (1934) under two heads, psychological and rhythmical. The psychological factors are a closer grouping of members belonging together, as for instance adjective and substantive, the placing of more important elements after less important, so that they are led up to, and remain in the hearer's ear, and the placing of determinant before determinate, as possessive before substantive. Rhythmical factors include the law of increment, where a larger expression tends to follow a shorter, and the alternation of strong and weak syllables.

There is ample scope for studies in Old English element-order. In particular work on Ælfric is lacking. The studies by Smith and Andrew discussed above are small-scale affairs now superseded by more recent methods of approach, while Barrett's study contains flaws which throw doubt on his findings. Subsequent work on Ælfric's element-order is unimpressive. Skulicz (1970) offers a syntactic study of the first series of the Catholic Homilies within a transformational framework which has been rendered obsolete by subsequent changes in the theory of transformational grammar: "the description is founded on a generative theory of inter-locking hierarchical levels of syntactic structure". The thesis is unduly limited in the amount of material which it analyses, a state of affairs explained in terms of "handling efficiently the great amount of data" and "reducing redundancy of data". Three basic clause patterns are distinguished which through the operation of (ill-defined) "mutating factors" generate a total of ten clause types. The complexity of the notation used to distinguish these types is paralleled only by the verbosity of the idiosyncratic jargon of this baffling thesis. In my view it fails totally in its stated aim of being "intended to provide the groundwork for a complete reference syntax of Old English".

Gardner (1971) offers a comparative study of five short pieces of Old English - samples too brief to give more than a general impression of the state of the language, or for the conclusions to be accepted with confidence. The material from Ælfric is just one homily ("St. Gregory the Great"), which Gardner finds contains 2,385 words (well under 300 clauses therefore). The conclusion is stated in one bald sentence: "This study has shown that Old English had system and order". The statement is undoubtedly true, but it is unclear to me why it was necessary to undertake the study in order to reach this conclusion.

Kohonen (1978) makes a careful study of the changes in

element-order patterns between circa 1000 and circa 1200. As material for his survey he uses parts of the first series of the Catholic Homilies, Vices and Virtues and Sawles Warde. The survey aims to explore aspects of historical linguistic change during the transition from Old to Middle English, paying particular attention to the element-order pattern of clauses not as isolated units but rather within their context - a feature ignored by the majority of studies. The function of a clause, in Kohonen's view, is to transmit information in relation to what has already been said in the text, and should not, therefore, be seen in isolation. This concept of a "text-linguistic approach" is clearly worthy of attention, and an exciting development in linguistic studies as it forms a bridge between questions of linguistic usage and questions of style. This aside, however, the work is disappointing, for much of it is devoted to a survey of previous studies, and a description of the computer-aided methodology employed, and Kohonen can seem over-cautious in drawing his conclusions.

It can be seen therefore that work on Ælfric's element-order is limited in the extent of material, and in part shows weaknesses in methodology. While some excellent work has been carried out on other aspects of Ælfric's syntax,¹⁵ element-order has tended to be neglected. There is a need for a study which is based upon a large sample of material, presents statistics which are derived from a sound methodology, and interprets these statistics in relation to questions both linguistic - particularly the historical development of Old English element-order - and stylistic - the achievement of Ælfric in this field. It is along these guidelines that this thesis is to

¹⁵ In particular studies by Ruth Waterhouse; and the extremely thorough work conducted under the supervision of A.O. Sandved and summarised by him in "Some Notes on the Syntax of Prepositions in Ælfric's Homilies", Studies in English Language and Early Literature in Honour of Paul Christophersen, edited by P.M. Tilling, Occasional Papers in Ling. and Lang. Learning, 8, Coleraine, 1981, pp. 117-135.

proceed.

1.3 Corpus

A substantial body of edited material was required for the study. The works of Ælfric provide this in a large corpus of prose material which is dated with some accuracy (both the Catholic Homilies and Supplementary Homilies are from the last decade of the tenth century), is intended for oral delivery, and has an interesting contrast between rhythmic and non-rhythmic prose. Some background is known concerning Ælfric's life, and his intention in providing a series of homilies in English, which is of use in placing the results of this study within a context.

The material used has been drawn from printed editions: Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series, Text, edited by Malcolm Godden (1979), and Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection, edited by John C. Pope (1967). The majority of material from these sources has been analysed (the precise corpus is set out below), offering a sample substantially larger than those used in previous studies of Ælfric's element-order. It was decided that modern editions should be preferred. This criterion excluded study of the first series of the Catholic Homilies, presently available only in Thorpe's edition of 1844. Though I have formed a high regard for the accuracy of Thorpe's work, it is clearly preferable to use more recent editions when they are available, and of good quality.

I have avoided duplicating material previously studied for element-order, particularly that found in the work of Barrett (1953), as it seemed a greater return for work to be tackling untouched material. However I am of the opinion that Barrett's work is fundamentally flawed in methodology and its conclusions therefore of little value, and have no doubt that the material could be re-analysed

with profit.

The following material has been excluded from SH: SH:I, because the only manuscript (British Museum MS Cotton Vitellius C.v.) is imperfect, with many lacunæ in the text; SH:XIIa, which Pope considers to be a compilation of passages, some known to be by Ælfric, others possibly by Ælfric as the style is similar; the doubts which must exist concerning the authorship of the whole mitigate against its inclusion in a study of Ælfric's language usage; SH:XVII, because the homily contains several short lacunæ, and is written in a mixture of rhythmic and non-rhythmic prose, both factors discouraging its inclusion, and SH:XXII-XXX, because these pieces are "excerpts and additions", rather than complete homilies. X

A selection has been made from CH which provides a corpus of material approximately equal in size to that offered by SH.

Throughout I have chosen homilies without significant lacunae. There appears to be nothing to be gained from studying homilies which are imperfectly known, when ample material exists which is complete.

Homilies analysed (with the number of lines in each) are as follows:

<u>CH:Preface</u>	020
<u>CH:I</u>	303
<u>CH:II</u>	217
<u>CH:III</u>	299
<u>CH:IV</u>	325
<u>CH:V</u>	287
<u>CH:VI</u>	206
<u>CH:VII</u>	179
<u>CH:VIII</u>	131
<u>CH:IX</u>	260
<u>CH:X</u>	341
<u>CH:XI</u>	588
<u>CH:XII</u>	582
<u>CH:XIII</u>	294
<u>CH:XIV</u>	357
<u>CH:XV</u>	337
<u>CH:XVI</u>	225
<u>CH:XVII</u>	135
<u>CH:XVIII</u>	156
<u>CH:XIX</u>	301

<u>CH:XX</u>	268
<u>CH:XXI</u>	180
<u>SH:II</u>	291
<u>SH:III</u>	187
<u>SH:IV</u>	298
<u>SH:V</u>	290
<u>SH:VI</u>	373
<u>SH:VII</u>	226
<u>SH:VIII</u>	255
<u>SH:IX</u>	218
<u>SH:X</u>	211
<u>SH:XI</u>	574
<u>SH:XII</u>	241
<u>SH:XIII</u>	236
<u>SH:XIV</u>	234
<u>SH:XV</u>	230
<u>SH:XVI</u>	295
<u>SH:XVIII</u>	439
<u>SH:XX</u>	429
<u>SH:XXI</u>	676

The total number of lines in the corpus is 11,694, comprising 5991 lines from CH, and from SH 5703 lines, samples roughly equal in size. The total number of clauses analysed is 11,543, one of the largest samples to be used for a study of Old English element-order.

1.4 Categories of Elements

The following categories of elements have been distinguished:

The Verb (V and v), the element which is found in all normal (non-elliptical) clauses, either alone in a simple verb phrase, or with an associated verb in a complex verb phrase. I have utilised the standard notation by which V represents the principal verb - the finite verb in a simple verb phrase, and the non-finite verb in a complex verb phrase; v is used to denote the finite verb within a complex verb phrase. Such notation is perhaps not ideal for an element-order study, for the distinction between finite and non-finite verbs is of particular importance to element-order, though the desirability of avoiding idiosyncratic abbreviations has discouraged

me from adopting alternative forms.

Subject (S).

Direct Object (O), comprising objects in the accusative case, and objects in the genitive and dative cases which function syntactically as direct objects.

Indirect Object (I), comprising only those objects which are in the dative case, and have the syntactic function of indirect objects. Prepositional phrases are excluded.

Complement (C), comprising nominal and adjectival elements, as well as adverbials and prepositional phrases, following Mitchell (1985, §1585).

Adverbial (A), comprising one-word adverbials, adverbial phrases, and prepositional phrases. The negative particle is excluded from this category, unless otherwise stated.

Negative Particle (N). The adverbial particle ne is treated separately from adverbials. When it is combined with a verb (for example nis, SH:XXI-664) the result is analysed as a negative particle followed by the verb, which is etymologically correct.

Also found, but infrequent, and therefore discussed only as seems appropriate, are interjections, vocatives, and infinitival complements. The infinitival complement may itself have a direct object, as at CH:I-239 and SH:III-111, producing a clause with two direct objects. In such examples it would not be appropriate to speak of the position of the direct object of the infinitival complement in relation to the finite verb. Instances such as this are excluded from the general discussion of each clause. Impersonal verbs are infrequent in the material analysed, and are specifically discussed only when they appear to have an influence on the element-order of the clause.

The nominal elements are further divided in terms of their weight. Pronouns are classified as being of light weight, nouns

unqualified by an adjective are of medium weight, and nouns (or pronouns) qualified by one or more adjectives are of heavy weight. Nouns qualified only by a demonstrative, or possessive pronoun or adjective (the forms listed in fifth position in table in Mitchell, 1985, 5143), are classified as being of medium weight. The abbreviations 1, 2 and 3 are used for light, medium and heavy weight. Clauses which contain discontinuous nominal elements have been discussed as seems appropriate; they are not particularly numerous.

Adverbials are divided into one-word adverbials, and adverbial phrases. It has been found useful to subdivide adverbial phrases into those of two words, and those of three or more words. Adverbials may therefore be light (one-word), medium (two-words) or heavy (three or more words), abbreviated 1, 2 and 3.

The vast majority of clauses may be analysed in a satisfactory manner using the categories set out above. Exceptional clauses have been discussed as seems appropriate within the analysis. They have been tackled as sense suggests for each individual case, while taking care to be consistent in treatment. In general difficulties concern two elements which are not morphologically distinct, as for instance the subject and direct object, or the direct and indirect objects. I have aimed throughout to avoid the temptation to use element-order as a means of distinguishing between forms which are not morphologically distinct; for the most part context resolves ambiguities, though the possibility of alternative readings sometimes remains. A particular difficulty has been found in the division of adverbials: her on life, for instance, may be viewed either as one three-word adverbial phrase, or as a one-word adverbial followed by a two-word adverbial phrase. In general I have chosen to read such instances as two adverbials, though if style or sense suggests otherwise an alternative reading may be offered.

At no time are clauses which contain elements of uncertain

interpretation sufficiently numerous to make a significant effect upon the results gathered.

1.5 Clause Categories

Clauses have been divided into well established categories, with fourteen types distinguished:

Independent clauses:

 declarative (including exclamative)

 conjoined declarative

 imperative

 interrogative

 optative

Dependent clause:

 nominal

 adjectival

 adverbial:

 place

 time

 consequence

 cause

 comparison

 concession

 condition

Subdivision of declarative clauses (into those without and those with an initial adverbial), and of interrogative clauses (into the four established categories) has proved both practical and useful, and is applied in the relevant sections.

In general the guidelines offered by Mitchell (1985) have been

followed in distinguishing these categories. Some issues involved in classification are described at the beginning of each section. While the majority of clauses may be placed with confidence in one of these fourteen categories, a minority may appear to overlap two categories. In such cases the individual researcher must make a decision taking into account the evidence available. A few instances of problematic classification which are of particular interest have been discussed at the head of the relevant section.

1.6 Method

In establishing a method for the examination of element-order, two sets of requirements have been considered.

The first of these sets of requirements concerns the need to study element-order in a manner which is informative, and which identifies organising principles for clauses, and establishes where the significant choices in order lie. Existing studies indicate that such organising principles are frequently complex.

The second set of requirements concerns practical restraints imposed by the nature of the material. It is desirable that the method adopted should be clear to readers, so that the element-order patterns uncovered may be understood readily. The method should avoid, so far as it is possible, the creation of categories of element-order which are populated by a number of examples inadequate for statistical reliability, a problem all too common in element-order studies, and a potential difficulty even in the case of a sample as large as the one examined here.

In order to satisfy these two distinct and sometimes conflicting sets of requirements a method has been adopted which offers first an extended discussion of the relative position of combinations of two elements within a clause, and subsequently a discussion of the

incidence of clause patterns. The basic level of description throughout is that of the position of two elements relative to one another. This is a pragmatic device which has great clarity, which generally avoids creating underpopulated categories, and which yields results which may be discussed with profit. It is particularly strong in revealing the order of nominal elements relative to the verb phrase, especially when taking into account the weight of the nominal element. In addition it has proved a suitable vehicle for investigating adverbial position. Augmenting this foundation level of description is an account for independent clauses of the order of groups of three elements within a clause - two nominal elements and the verb, and an account of the incidence of clauses with the verb in final position is presented for the conjoined and dependent clauses. The result is a method which offers useful insight into the element-order of the texts discussed, presented within a framework which is readily understood, and which recognises the limitations of size in a sample which, while larger than most used for such a study, is nonetheless smaller than ideal.

A particular effort has been made in discussion to view clauses within their context. Frequently a clause which exhibits an unusual element-order may be explained on stylistic grounds if reference is made to the passage in which it occurs.

The volume of material to be analysed suggested the need for a computer data-base to store and retrieve information. I have used INGRES, produced by Relational Technology Inc., on a Zenith (IBM compatible) personal computer. The quantitative nature of the results gathered has suggested the need for a statistical check on their validity. Throughout, I have used the chi-square test, the use of

which in linguistic analysis of this sort is well established.¹⁶ I have applied the chi-square test with the aid of MINITAB computer statistical program. A value of chi-squared (χ^2) with the associated degrees of freedom (d.f.) has been given for each table, from which the probability of a chance occurrence may be found with reference to statistical tables of χ^2 distribution. The relevant sections of the tables for the purposes of this thesis may be extracted as follows, (Kmietowicz and Yannoulis, 1976) where for selected values of χ^2 for each of the d.f.s encountered probabilities of a chance occurrence are given from 0.100 (one in ten) to 0.001 (one in a thousand).

		<u>Probability</u>					
		0.100	0.050	0.025	0.010	0.005	0.001
<u>d.f.</u>	1	2.706	3.841	5.024	6.635	7.789	10.828
	2	4.605	5.991	7.378	9.210	10.597	13.816
	4	7.779	9.488	11.143	13.277	14.860	18.467

Generally probabilities greater than 0.050 (one in twenty) are considered significant, and results at less than this level have been indicated.

1.7 Presentation

In choosing which of the many clauses analysed to quote as examples several criteria have been applied. I have sought to give a number of clauses which is appropriate in number for the point discussed. In particular if there are only a small number of clauses illustrating a

¹⁶ Of particular use is Butler (1985) which includes a practical description of the test. Throughout this thesis an indication of the probability of each observed distribution arising by chance has been produced by reference to tables of chi-squared distribution. The arithmetic which is required to calculate the expected frequency for each cell and the value of chi-squared is simple but extended (examples are given in Butler); I have used MINITAB as a tool for handling the arithmetic.

particular element-order I have aimed to give all of them, as they are likely to be of particular interest. In general two examples are presented from each of the prose types for the relative order of two elements, and one example from each prose type to illustrate clause patterns. Additional instances exemplifying clause patterns may be found should they be required within the material exemplifying the order of two elements. I have sought to give a representative selection of clauses, while at the same time ensuring that I include those which seem to me to be of particular interest.

All examples quoted are followed by a reference which gives homily number and line number of the commencement of the clause, as found in the editions used. Clauses quoted have been modified to conform to modern punctuation and capitalisation. Few changes have been made to examples taken from Pope's edition; I have tended to omit punctuation when it seems to imply an interpretation of the text, preferring light punctuation in clauses quoted. Godden has chosen in his edition to reproduce manuscript pointing and capitalisation. For the convenience of the reader I offer quotations from CH in modern orthography.

Information has been given as it appears useful and practical, and while the treatment of material within the different clause types is broadly similar, numerous small differences do exist. These depend in part upon the size of the sample for a particular clause type - clauses of place, for instance, which are not numerous, cannot with profit be treated in the same detail as the more frequently encountered clauses of condition. There are also differences in treatment in response to the varying nature of the clauses discussed. Interrogative clauses, for instance, are appropriately divided according to the different question types well established as existing in Old English, while the scant category of optative clauses is most appropriately handled by a discussion which is free of the

constraints applied elsewhere in the thesis.

1.8 General Considerations

In analysing the prose of Ælfric, I have been aware that I am reading the work of a deliberate prose stylist. The requirements of the alliterative and rhythmic nature of SH have made an impact upon element-order; less obvious, but nonetheless pervasive, is the influence of stylistic devices upon CH.

The homilies are frequently translations or paraphrases of Latin sources, and the possible influence of Latin syntax must be remembered. This matter has been considered by several writers;¹⁷ the consensus of opinion is to minimise its effect. Some examples are found within this thesis of clauses which appear to be influenced in their element-order by Latin originals.

1.9 Limitations

The subject of study within this thesis is element-order. It does not seek to examine either the order of words within elements, or the order of clauses within sentences. As a description of element-order within selected works of Ælfric it aims primarily to fill a perceived gap in syntactic studies. Conclusions which may be drawn about the historical development of English syntax or the style of Ælfric are dependent upon a thorough descriptive foundation.

No system of linguistic analysis is ever perfect. The methodology adopted has been chosen for its clarity, for its practicality, and for its ability to yield significant results. In the absence of a standard methodology I believe that this is the best which may be offered.

¹⁷ Include Bacquet (1962), pp. 44-63, and Owen (1882).

Alternatives or refinements may be offered which might avoid some of the weaknesses of the system used, but at the price of introducing weaknesses of their own.

CHAPTER TWO

INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into five sections, which correspond with discrete categories for element-order. The first two sections, non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses (2.1) and conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses (2.2) are exemplified by a large number of instances, and as a result it has proved possible to present a full discussion. The three following sections, imperative clauses (2.3), interrogative clauses (2.4) and optative clauses (2.5) are of necessity shorter, though there are enough instances within the corpus to outline element-order for these categories. Conclusions are offered to each section, and a conclusion to this chapter is presented in section 2.6.

2.1 NON-CONJOINED DECLARATIVE AND EXCLAMATIVE CLAUSES

Introduction

Non-conjoined declarative clauses are the largest single clause category within Old English. They are distinguished from conjoined declarative clauses, which are considered elsewhere in this thesis (section 2.2), for their element-order shows significant differences from that observed in non-conjoined declaratives. The sample is of 4,441 clauses, of which 2,733 are from CH and 1,708 from SH.

Exclamative clauses are included within the category of declarative clauses. In the absence of manuscript punctuation to mark exclamation it is frequently possible to interpret a clause either as a declarative or an exclamative. I know of no certain exclamative clause within the corpus analysed, though there are a number of probable or possible instances. There is no evidence to suggest that there are any differences whatsoever in the element-order of these two clause types. It is therefore both practical and appropriate to treat the two groups together.

It is apparent that the presence of an initial adverbial (including a negative particle) within a declarative clause has an effect on its element-order. While declarative clauses without an initial adverbial usually show the order of subject - verb, declarative clauses with an initial adverbial usually show verb - subject. In order to take account of this distinction discussion of the order of the subject and verb has been divided into two sections - first clauses without an initial adverbial are considered, then clauses with an initial adverbial or negative particle. Similarly in discussing the order of three or more elements within a clause - the clause patterns - it has been necessary to make a distinction between those without and those with an initial adverbial. No significant differences in element-order may

be observed for the order of nominal elements, other than that of the subject with respect to the verb phrase, between clauses without and clauses with initial adverbials. In these cases it is appropriate to present the material without division between those without and those with initial adverbials, as this distinction does not in these cases define the domain of patterns of element-order. A parallel may be drawn with the element-order of modern German. The rule that the finite verb should occur in second position within a declarative clause produces the element-order of subject - verb when the clause does not commence with either an adverbial or another element which occupies the clause-initial position; when the clause begins with an adverbial, however, verb - subject order follows. Just as in modern German the presence of an initial adverbial does not influence the position of direct or indirect objects, or complements, so likewise in Old English the presence of an initial adverbial in no way affects the element-order of elements other than subject and verb.

The order of subject and simple verb in clauses without an initial adverbial

There are 1,498 clauses from CH and 1,016 from SH in this category. Of those from CH, 1,410 (94%) have the order S-V, and 88 (6%) V-S. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the subject:

		S1		S2		S3		
S - V		661		371		378		1410
V - S		0		19		69		88
		661		390		447		1498

$$\chi^2 = 115.873 \text{ with } 2 \text{ d.f.}$$

Examples include:

S1 - V

Þæt ceaf he forbærnð on unadwæscendlicum fyre (CH:IV-265)

He ða astod betwux his gebroðra handum astrehtum handum wið heofonas weard (CH:XI-560)

S2 - V

God gesette ðone welegan dælere on his godum (CH:VII-070)

Augustinus gesette æfter ðisum biscopas of his geferum gehwilcum burgum on Engla ðeode (CH:IX-251)

S3 - V

Seo cwacigende swuster eode of ðam stæpum ... to ðam halgan cyðere (CH:II-159)

Sum welig mann wæs on worulde (CH:VII-090)

V - S2

Ongann ða Augustinus mid his munecum to geefenlæcenne þara apostola lif mid singalum gebedum (CH:IX-205)

Wearð þa se munuc micclum afyrht and adlig on ærnemerigen (CH:X-087)

V - S3

Dyslic bið mannes ceas ongean Godes godnysse (CH:V-171)

gewende eal þæt heofenlice werod up to ðam heofonlicum ðrymme and ða twegan sacerdas Beanus and Meldanus samod (CH:XX-200)

The order verb - subject is infrequent, occurring only when the subject is of medium or heavy weight. Often in such cases, as for example in CH:IX-205 and CH:X-087, an adverbial element occurs towards the front of the clause, though not in initial position. It would appear that the element order displayed is essentially that of declarative clauses with an initial adverbial. An initial element in a clause which is not the subject appears to promote inversion. This may be seen in CH:V-171, where the complement Dyslic begins the clause, and in many other instances, for example Micel is Godes

mildheortnys ofer mancynne, CH:XXI-130, where the element-order is presumably C-V-S (morphology, though scarcely sense, permits interpretation as S-V-C). One example with a discontinuous subject may be noted: Twegen þissera becomon to us broðer and swuster Paulus and Palladia, CH:II-126. This clause shows two phrases appositive to one another, one before the verb and one after. To place the two parts of the subject together in pre-verbal position would create an exceptionally heavy subject, and the decision to position at least part of the subject post-verbally may be understood readily.

Of the 1,016 clauses from SH, 959 (94%) show S-V order, and 57 (6%) V-S order. In tabular form, taking into account the weight of the subject the distribution is:

	S1	S2	S3	
S - V	554	188	217	959
V - S	0	34	23	57
	554	222	240	1016

$\chi^2 = 79.568$ with 2 d.f.

Examples include:

S1 - V

He is seo micele Lufu and se mihtiga Willa þæs Fæder and þæs Suna of heom bam gelice (SH:VII-210)

He beleac þa his tempel mid geleafan onbryrd (SH:XXI-630)

S2 - V

Ure Drihten gehælde þa þurh his heofonlican mihte þone earmann wodan fram his wodnysse and fram his dumbnysse þæs deoflican bendas and fram þæræ blindnysse ... (SH:IV-059)

His gifa syndon micele on seofonfealde wisan: on wisdom and on andgite and on wislicum geþeahhte on modes anrædnysse mid micelre strengðe on soðum ingehyde and on arfæstnysse on Godes ege eac mid underþeodnysse (SH:IX-139)

S3 - V

Ða seofan gastas syndon þa seofan heafodleahtras gyfernyss and

folir gytsung and yrre asolcennyss and unrotnyss idelgylp
(SH:IV-249)

Iacob se rihtwisa awrat on his pistole (SH:XIII-100)

V - S2

þis sæde se witega be þam ungesæligum Iudeum (SH:III-080)

Hire andwyrde se Hælend (SH:IV-054 & 287)

V - S3

Gesælig bið se mann þe ... (SH:X-038)

As in CH the order subject - verb is displayed by the majority of clauses. I can find no convincing instance of alliterative considerations influencing element-order in clauses of this type, a circumstance which corresponds with the equal occurrence of subject - verb in the two prose types. The example SH:IV-054 and IV-287 has as its theme Hire, the wif who has just spoken, and se Hælend is the rheme. Thus its element-order, though not subject - object, is certainly theme - rheme. Example SH:X-038 has a particularly heavy subject which includes an adjectival clause, and which is most conveniently placed in clause final position to avoid embedding a subordinate construction within its head clause. The importance of an initial element other than the subject promoting inversion - the X-V-S clause pattern - is apparent from example SH:III-080, where an initial direct object is followed by verb - subject.

The order of subject and simple verb in clauses with an initial adverbial

The sample from CH is of 658 clauses; from SH of 338. Of those from CH 191 (29%) show subject - verb, and 467 (71%) verb - subject. The distribution may in part be explained in terms of subject weight:

	S1	S2	S3	
S - V	102	47	42	191
V - S	86	225	156	467
	188	272	198	658

$\chi^2 = 82.172$ with 2 d.f.

S1 - V

soð ic ðe secge (CH:V-136)

Gyt ðu ne eart fiftig geara (CH:XIII-016)

S2 - V

Witodlice se synfulla ðeowað þam wyrstan ðeowte (CH:XIII-077)

Be untrumum mannum se Ælmihtiga cwæð (CH:XIX-246)

S3 - V

Eft se halga Stephanus under þam heardan stanum his cneowa gebigde (CH:II-184)

Eac se halga Gregorius abæd æt Criste (CH:XV-167)

V - S1

Ða beeode heo sume dæge þurh nytennesses into ðam scræfe þæs eadigan Benedictes (CH:XI-580)

Ða asende he him to ðone scearpan here of Romana rice mid reðum wæpnum (CH:XVII-128)

V - S2

þa axode Pilatus hine orgollice (CH:XIV-167)

þa arn se ceorl geond ealle ða stræt dæges and nihtes dreorig hrymende (CH:XVII-118)

V - S3

þa on sumere nihte hlosnode sum oðer munuc his færelde (CH:X-076)

ne bið seo geendung þyssere worulde na gyt (CH:XX-178)

It may be seen that verb - subject predominates in clauses of this type, though subject - verb nonetheless accounts for a substantial number of instances, approaching a third of the total sample. There is a correlation between subject weight and its position with respect to the verb, with light subjects tending to precede the

verb, and heavy subjects tending to follow. There is a tendency for sentential adverbials to be followed by S-V order, as is exemplified by example CH:XIII-077 with initial witodlice.

In the SH there are 138 (41%) instances of subject - verb, and 200 (59%) of verb - subject. In tabular form taking subject weight into account:

	S1	S2	S3	
S - V	93	23	22	138
V - S	41	106	53	200
	134	129	75	338

$\chi^2 = 77.635$ with 2 d.f.

S1 - V

Be swilcum we rædað on sumum godspelle (SH:VI-301)

Mid godum inngehyde he geladaþ ure mod (SH:IX-145)

S2 - V

Soþlice þis getel wæs gesett gefyrn (SH:II-151)

Eft se hlaford syððan sende oðre þeowan micele ma him to (SH:III-015)

S3 - V

Witodlice Godes rice becymð on eow (SH:IV-174)

Ðonne se unclæna gast gæþ ut of þam men (SH:IV-212)

V - S1

þonne færð he worigende on unwætrigum stowum secende him reste (SH:IV-213)

Ða wurden hi wiðerræde wolice foroft (SH:XX-357)

V - S2

Ðonne cweð se Dema eft to ðam dreorigan heape (SH:XI-435)

Sona æfter þære gedrefednysse adeorcað seo sunne (SH:XVIII-399)

V - S3

On þam wæterscipe wæron twa wundorlice mihta (SH:II-115)

þus cwæð se Godes Sunu (SH:IX-103)

The results are similar to those for CH. Again the tendency for S-V to be preferred following sentential adverbials is illustrated, as for example SH:II-151 and SH:IV-174.

The order of subject and complex verb in clauses without an initial adverbial

There are 288 clauses in CH and 141 in SH with a subject and a complex verb of the form finite verb non-finite verb. All from CH show the order S-v-V. Examples displaying various subject weights include:

Ðæt wif wæs afaran fram gemærum hire eðeles (CH:VIII-025)

Hit bið gebroht synfull þurh Adames forgægednyse to ðam fantfæte (CH:XV-108)

Cristene men sceolon soðlice abugan to gehalgodre rode on ðæs Hælendes naman (CH:XVIII-053)

In SH the majority of clauses (139 from a sample of 141, or 99%) show the order S-v-V. Examples with various subject weights include:

He wearð þa gefullod (SH:XXI-641)

Se Sunderhalga wæs gehaten Nichodemus (SH:XII-047)

Pa halgan apostoli woldon þam Hælende þone ræd tæcan (SH:VI-338)

The two exceptions are:

Him is soðlice ætbroden seo boclice lar and eall seo deopnyss (SH:III-158)

Þam men bið dom geset butan mildheortnyss eft (SH:XIII-101)

Both place the subject after the finite verb (the first example places it after both parts of the complex verb, the second between the finite and non-finite verb). Both are capable of explanation in terms

of the concept of theme - rheme; the initial element in both instances, though not the subject, is the theme, and may therefore appropriately fall in a pre-verbal position. With the elements Him and Pam men respectively occupying the position usually appropriate for the subject, the movement of the subject to an alternative position after the finite verb - a position which would be appropriate for an object - is encouraged.

The order of subject and complex verb in clauses with an initial adverbial

The sample comprises 159 clauses from CH, and 58 from SH. Taking into account the weight of the subject the following pattern is found for CH:

	S1	S2	S3	
S-v-V	32	8	1	41
v-S-V	27	47	16	90
v-V-S	0	0	28	28
	59	55	45	159

$\chi^2 = 114.674$ with 4 d.f.

Examples include:

S1 - v - V

On ðam sixtan dæge his legeres he het hine beran into cyrcan
(CH:XI-559)

Hit wæs alyfed on ðære ealdan æ (CH:XII-441)

S2 - v - V

Soðlice seo cyrce wearð gefylled mid clypungum ðæs blissigendan folces (CH:II-138)

Soðlice ðurh ðornas synna beoð getacnode (CH:XIV-213)

S3 - v - V

Rihtlice se oðer godspellere Matheus het hi lease welan

(CH:VI-043)

v - S1 - V

Ða gesawon hi licgan an cild on ðam weofode (CH:XV-161)

nelle ic on sæ eow æteowian (CH:XVI-150)

v - S2 - V

Pa wolde þæt folc þæt fyr adwæscan (CH:X-120)

Pa ongunnon ða Iudei hine eft torfian mid heardum stanum
(CH:XVII-100)v - S3 - VWitodlice fram ðam endenextan ongann se hiredes ealdor to
agyldenne þone pening (CH:V-137)

Nis nan ðearfa fram ælmesdædum ascyred (CH:VII-116)

v - V - S3Witodlice mid þyssere getacnunge us bið awend þæt sixte wæterfæt
to deorwurðum wine (CH:IV-289)Ðær wæron gelædde mid ðam lifigendan Drihtne twegen scyldige
sceaðan for heora synnum to honne (CH:XIV-227)

Light subjects most frequently occur before the whole of the verb; slightly less common but still well represented is the position for the subject after the finite verb, but before the non-finite verb. Subjects of medium weight usually fall within the complex verb phrase (85% of sample), the remaining instances placing the subject before the whole of the verb phrase. The order v-V-S is not attested for subjects of light or medium weight, but is the most common pattern in the case of subjects of heavy weight. The placing of the subject within the verb phrase is well represented, while the position of the subject before the whole of the the verb phrase is exemplified by just one instance.

In SH the distribution is as follows:

	S1	S2	S3	
S-v-V	12	1	1	14
v-S-V	22	7	15	44
v-V-S	0	0	0	0
	34	8	16	58

$\chi^2 = 5.699$ with 2 d.f. (the third row must be excluded as all values are zero). Two remaining cells have expected counts less than 5.0.

Examples include:

S1 - v - V

Eac ic wæs cuma (SH:XI-441)

Her ge magon gehyran þæs Hælendes godnysse (SH:XIII-039)

S2 - v - V

Soþlice þis getel wæs gesett gefyrn (SH:II-151)

S3 - v - V

Ealswa þa lareowas þe ... magon witan gewis þæt ... (SH:XVI-274)

v - S1 - V

Nu sceole we gehyran þæt halige godspell mid onbryrdnysse us to beterunge (SH:VIII-012)

þonne ne miht þu na þæt mot ut ateon of ðæs mannes eagan (SH:XIII-157)

v - S2 - V

ne sceal þæt cild eft syððan beon gefullod æt beterum lareowe (SH:XII-088)

Sona æfter þære ehtnysse bið Antecrist ofslagen þurh Cristes mihte on hys tocyme (SH:XVIII-403)

v - S3 - V

Ne sceal nan man swaðeah ... geortruwian hyne sylfne for his synna micelnysse (SH:VI-292)

Nu ne mæg nan lareow ... þa læwedan men gerihtlæcan to Godes rihtwisnysse (SH:XIII-128)

The results for SH show some important differences from those observed for CH. Overall v-S-V is much more common, accounting for 76% of instances in SH as against 57% in CH. For the pronouns this order accounts for nearly two-thirds of the sample, while for each of the medium and heavy weight categories it accounts for all but one instance. The tendency observed in CH to place heavy subjects after the whole of the complex verb is completely absent from SH.

Example SH:XVI-274 is interesting in that its introductory

adverbial is ealswa, usually used in Old English to introduce a clause of comparison. Here the clause is clearly declarative rather than subordinate. It is possible that ealswa, like witodlice, is an adverbial which is habitually followed by S-V, rather than promoting inversion.

The order of direct object and simple verb in declarative clauses

In the account which is offered within this section all cases where the direct object precedes the verb are treated as a single category, a device which enables statistics to be gathered which may be compared with other studies, and which indicates some general trends in the influence of the weight of the direct object on its position relative to the verb. However it is apparent that the pattern of the clause as a whole is significant in determining the position of the direct object within the clause. This factor is considered at a later stage.

There are 902 clauses in CH and 624 in SH with a single finite verb and a direct object. Of the clauses from CH, 190 (21%) show O-V order, and 712 (79%) V-O. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the direct object the distribution is:

		01		02		03	
O - V		89		47		54	190
V - O		46		195		471	712
		135		242		525	902

χ^2 is 200.480 with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

01 - V

he hit us forgylt be hundfealdum on ðam toweardan life
(CH:VII-111)

ðu hit sædest (CH:XIV-169)

02 - V

yfele we dydon mid þissere axunge (CH:XVII-091)

Pa hlafordas He manode (CH:XIX-220)

03 - V

Pa Cuðberhtus ða sælican nytenu on sund asende mid soðre bletsunge (CH:X-085)

Hwæt ða siððan se sigefæsta cempa þone eard ealne emlice dælde betwux twelf mægðum þæs æðelan mancynnes Abrahames ofspringes (CH:XII-409)

V - 01

He lædde me ða gyt furðor (CH:XXI-065)

Hwæt ða min latteow, lædde me ongean to þære blostmbæran stowe (CH:XXI-068)

V - 02

God þe benæmð þinra goda (CH:VII-065)

Witodlice æfter his æriste of deaðe he bebed his apostolum þus cweðende (CH:VIII-053)

V - 03

Soðlice se Ælmihtigan Fæder asende His ancennedan Sunu mid soðre menniscnysse befangenne to ðam Iudeiscum folce (CH:VIII-068)

We wurðiað eac on ðissere andwerdan freolstide oðerne apostol IACOB þone rihtwisan (CH:XVII-061)

Of the 624 clauses from SH, 169 (27%) show O-V order, and 455 (73%) V-O. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the direct object:

		01		02		03		
O - V		86		64		19		169
V - O		49		143		263		455
		135		207		282		624

($\chi^2 = 152.327$ with 2 d.f.)

Examples include:

01 - V

Hi begen hine sendon (SH:IX-116)

Þæt wif him andwyrde mid afyrhtum mode (SH:XIII-224)

02 - V

Ænne he gehælde þa of eallum þam untrumum (SH:II-134)

Hwæt þa se mildheorta Crist þurh his godcundan mihte þone mann gehælde (SH:IV-007)

03 - V

ealle his wæpna he gewinð þonne on ðam ðe he truwode (SH:IV-186)

Micele maran gyltas man mæg gebetan her on þisum life (SH:XV-157)

V - 01

Eft se hlaford syððan sende oðre þeowan micele ma him to (SH:III-015)

Hi lufodon hine ealle (SH:X-142)

V - 02

Se Halga Gast cydde gecyðnyse be Criste ærist þam apostolum on þære upflora (SH:IX-130)

He beleac þa his tempel mid geleafan onbryrd (SH:XXI-630)

V - 03

Godes finger soðlice getacnode þone Halgan Gast (SH:IV-135)

Wislice he understod þæs Hælendes wundra and þa micclan mihte (SH:XII-059)

Results from CH and SH are very similar. Differences which may appear from the overall percentages of each order are a product of the smaller number of instances of heavy direct objects in SH. Though very broad trends may be stated - the tendency for light direct objects to precede the verb, and those of medium or heavy weight to follow - the general picture is one of considerable freedom in the positioning of these elements. There may be a correlation between the order S-01-V when no other elements are found in the clause (as for example CH:XIV-169), and S-V-01 (as for example

CH:XXI-065) when other material follows - the concept of end position interacting with weight in the position of elements, as suggested by Kohonen (1978) and mentioned by Mitchell (1985, §3889); however the correlation, if it exists, is below the level of statistical significance in a sample of this size.

The order of direct object and complex verb

The sample is of 308 clauses, 159 from CH and 149 from SH. In complex verbs in CH the distribution is as follows:

	01	02	03	
0-v-V	0	0	1	1
v-V-0	0	43	74	117
v-0-V	0	27	14	41
	0	70	89	159

Calculation of χ^2 is impossible, as some expected frequencies are zero. Adding 01 and 02 permits the calculation of χ^2 as 11.225 with 2 d.f.. However, as two cells have expected counts of less than 1.0 the approximation is probably invalid. In order to obtain a satisfactory result the values for 0-v-V must also be excluded, producing the table:

	01+02	03	
v-V-0	43	74	117
v-0-V	27	14	41
	70	88	158

Here $\chi^2 = 10.420$ with 1 d.f., a significant result.

Examples include:

03 - v - V

ðam æftran worde he sceal gehyrsumian na ðam ærran (CH:XII-463)

v - V - 02

Ic wille ryman minne bertun (CH:VII-093)

þonne sceole we niman geðyld æfter IOBE (CH:XIX-255)

v - V - 03

Ða Iudeiscan noldon gehyran Cristes soðfæstnysse (CH:XIII-057)

Se mildheorta God wolde ða gyt gebigan ðæra Iudeiscra mod mid micclum tacnum (CH:XVII-105)

v - 02 - V

Ða wolde þæt folc þæt fyr adwæscan (CH:X-120)

We habbað nu ðas race anfealdlice gereht (CH:XII-414)

v - 03 - V

We sceolon eac Cristes acennednysse and his gebyrddide mid gastlicere blisse wurðian (CH:I-277)

Gehwa mæg hine sylfne tocnawan on ðam wordum (CH:XIII-081)

Almost two-thirds of instances place the direct object after the whole of the complex verb. For the remainder, the direct object is usually found between the finite and non-finite verb, with this position appearing as a rule for pronominal direct objects.

In SH the distribution is as follows:

	01	02	03	
0-v-V	1	0	1	2
v-V-0	0	30	45	75
v-0-V	30	19	23	72
	31	49	69	149

$\chi^2 = 40.470$ with 4 d.f.; however three cells have expected counts less than 1.0, so the χ^2 approximation is probably invalid. If values for 0-v-V are excluded, $\chi^2 = 31.542$ with 2 d.f.; a valid result.

01 - v - V

ic hit hæbbe eow gesæd (SH:XVIII-382)

03 - v - V

Micele maran gyltas man mæg gebetan her on þisum life (SH:XV-157)

v - 01 - V

ne miht þu him styran (SH:XIII-161)

He nolde hine gehælan (SH:VI-332)

v - 02 - V

Ƣa halgan apostoli woldon Ƣam Hælende Ƣone ræd tæcan (SH:VI-338)

Ƣonne ne miht Ƣu na Ƣæt mot ut ateon of ðæs mannes eagan
(SH:XIII-157)

v - 03 - V

ne mæg nan mann soðlice swilce tacna wyrcan (SH:XII-057)

Nu ne mæg nan lareow ... Ƣa læwedan men gerihtlæcan to Godes
rihtwisnysse (SH:XIII-128)

v - V - 02

We habbað anfealdlice gesæd eow nu Ƣis godspell (SH:III-046)

His leorningcnihtas woldon gelettan Ƣone Hælend (SH:VI-334)

v - V - 03

Ælc man mæg ðær geseon oðres mannes geðoht (SH:XI-558)

Compared with CH, SH shows a tendency to produce more instances of v-0-V and less of v-V-0, though the latter still predominate. The pattern v-0-V is the most frequent when the direct object is a pronoun. The order 0-v-V is attested, but represented by only two instances.

The order of indirect object and simple verb

There are 168 examples from CH, and 211 from SH. Of those from CH the distribution is as follows:

		I1		I2		I3	
I - V		74		0		1	75
V - I		35		31		27	93
		109		31		28	168

$\chi^2 = 67.948$ with 2 d.f..

I1 - V

Hwæt ða him geuðe se Ælmihtiga God fægere getingnysse ðam folce
to lare (CH:X-132)

Ic soðlice eow secge (CH:XII-445)

I3 - V

Cuðberhtus ða him togeanes cwæð (CH:X-103)

V - I1

þa sæde he him þis bigspel (CH:VI-004)

Se Ælmihtiga God cyð his godnysse us (CH:XIX-262)

V - I2

Gregorius asende eac Augustine halige lac on mæssereafan and on bocum and ðæra apostola and martyra reliquias samod (CH:IX-247)

Eft se ðeoda lareow lærde ða rican þæt ... (CH:XIX-228)

V - I3

Petrus se apostol bead eac on his pistole ðeowum mannum (CH:IV-254)

þæs geares ... he cyðde his forðsið on ær sumum his leorningcnihtum mid him drohtnigendum and sumum oðrum on fyrlenum stowum wunigendum (CH:XI-554)

Also a possible instance of V - I3 is Arærde ða cyrcan on ðære cwealmstowe þam leofan Drihtne, CH:XVIII-046. However I feel it probable that þam leofan Drihtne should be regarded as an adverbial adjunct, rather than as an indirect object.

The indirect object which occupies pre-verbal position is generally a pronoun. While there is an example of an indirect object of heavy weight which precedes the verb, the majority of items of medium or heavy weight occur post-verbally.

In SH there are 64 (30%) examples of I-V, and 147 (70%) of V-I, which are distributed according to weight as follows:

	I1	I2	I3	
I - V	64	0	0	64
V - I	83	26	38	147
	147	26	38	211

$\chi^2 = 39.995$ with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

I1 - V

Ða hæþenan him offrodon ... sceap and hryðeru (SH:IV-080)

Se Hælende us sæde on þysum soðum godspelle (SH:X-057)

V - I1

he tæcð eow ealle soðfæstnysse (SH:VII-195)

he cyð eow (SH:VII-215)

V - I2

Sibbe he forgeaf symle his apostolum (SH:X-122)

Ne forbead he mid ealle ælcne dom þam witan ... ac ða dyrstignysse (SH:XIII-088)

V - I3

þa on sumne sæl sæde he þis bigspel his leorningcnihtum and þam geleafleasum Iudeiscum (SH:III-002)

Swa micelne wurðmynt forgeaf se mildheorta Drihten his halgum þegnum (SH:XXI-672)

It is noteworthy that all instances of I-V show a pronominal indirect object. This is in keeping with the pattern observed in CH, but more pronounced. Overall V-I accounts for 69% of instances in SH, in contrast with 51% in CH.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

This category is represented by 77 examples from CH, and 37 from SH. Taking weight into account the distribution in CH is:

	I1	I2	I3	
I-v-V	18	0	0	18
v-V-I	1	1	19	21
v-I-V	37	1	0	38
	56	2	19	77

$\chi^2 = 69.865$ with 4 d.f.; however 2 cells have expected counts less than 1.0, and 4 expected counts less than 5.0, so the χ^2 approximation is probably invalid. Combining the values for I2 and I3 gives $\chi^2 = 67.289$ with 2 d.f..

I1 - v - V

Untwylice on ðisum andgite us bið awend þæt fife wæterfæt to
wynsumum wine (CH:IV-273)

Eow is forgifen þæt ... (CH:VI-016)

v - V - I1

Ða wolde se halga habban him gewitan þære wunderlican gesihðe
(CH:X1-528)

v - V - I2

He nolde syllan intingan þam Iudeiscum (CH:VIII-049)

v - V - I3

Ic wille syllan ðisum endenextum eal swa micel swa ðe (CH:V-167)

On ðam ylcan dæge wearð æteowod his twam leorningcnihtum an
weg fram ðam huse þe ... on ðam eastdæle astreht oð heofonan
(CH:X1-562)

v - I1 - V

La, hwæt se Ælmihtiga God mæg foreaðe unc þurh ðisne earn æt
foresceawian (CH:X-103)

wolde him benæman his lifes and his rices (CH:XVIII-009)

v - I2 - V

He wolde gelome leodum bodian on fyrhlenum lande unforhtigende
(CH:X-131)

The majority of pronominal indirect objects occur between the finite and non-finite verb, though about a third precede the whole of the complex verb, where they are the only weight of indirect object which may occupy this position. The placing of the pronominal indirect object after the whole of the verb is represented by only one example, and appears without an obvious motivation. Possibly Ælfric wished to avoid placing se halga and him adjacent within the clause.

The distribution from SH may be presented as follows:

	I1	I2	I3	
I-v-V	11	1	0	12
v-V-I	22	0	0	22
v-I-V	2	1	0	3
	35	2	0	37

Calculation of χ^2 is impossible as some expected frequencies are zero. Ignoring I3, $\chi^2 = 18.772$ with 2 d.f.; however with 2 cells with expected counts less than 1.0 and all six with expected counts less than 5.0, the approximation is probably invalid.

Examples include:

I1 - v - V

Him is soðlice ætbroden seo boclice lar and eall seo deopnyss
(SH:III-158)

On ðam gemete ... eow bið eft ameten (SH:XIII-018 & 119)

I2 - v - V

Ðam men bið dom geset butan mildheortnysse eft (SH:XIII-101)

v - V - I1

We habbað anfealdlice gesæd eow nu þis godspell (SH:III-046)

v - I1 - V

ic hit hæbbe eow gesæd (SH:XVIII-382)

He het us swyðost cepan þæs soþan lifes æfre (SH:XX-387)

v - I2 - V

Ða halgan apostoli woldon þam Hælende þone ræd tæcan (SH:VI-338)

The total absence of heavy indirect objects in these clauses from SH must reflect a characteristic of the rhythmic prose, perhaps reflecting differences in the subject matter. Indirect objects of medium weight are rare, with only two examples. Among pronominal indirect objects, v-I-V, the dominant pattern in CH, is here the least common, while v-V-I, the least common order in CH, here accounts for nearly two-thirds of instances. Ælfric appears to work within different linguistic registers with regards to his treatment of indirect objects in his two prose types.

The order of complement and simple verb

The sample is of 298 clauses from CH and 289 from SH. Of those from CH the distribution is:

	C1	C2	C3	
C - V	0	19	1	20
V - C	2	78	198	278
	2	97	199	298

$\chi^2 = 38.083$ with 2 d.f.; however 1 cell has an expected count of less than 1.0, and two cells less than 5.0, so the χ^2 approximation is probably invalid.

C2 - V

Dyslic bið mannes ceas ongear Godes godnysse (CH:V-171)

Eala ðu wif, micel is ðin geleafa (CH:VIII-019)

C3 - V

Lease welan hi sind (CH:VI-044)

V - C1

se ren is min (CH:VII-077)

Witodlice þæt sylfe lande ... nis ðin (CH:VII-080)

V - C2

Witodlice Petrus wæs fiscere ær his gecyrrednysse (CH:XVI-131)

se wæs his tunman ær on life (CH:XX-208)

V - C3

Se eadiga wæs bliðe on andwlitan mid hwitum hærum fægere gehiwod and mid micelre lufe on mode afylled (CH:XI-550)

æfter soðum gecynde þæt wæter is brosnienlic wæta (CH:XV-117)

The one instance which places a heavy complement before the finite verb (CH:VI-044) may be explained in terms of a stylistic device, with the complement resuming an idea expressed earlier in the sentence in the clause Rihtlice se oðer godspellere Matheus het hi lease welan. In CH:V-171 Dyslic, which is probably to be viewed as

the focus of the clause, is placed in initial position which accords it more prominence, while the contrast between the phrases mannes ceas and Godes godnysse is made more apparent by placing the two close to one another in post-verbal position (and separated only by ongean). Occasionally an alternative analysis is possible. In CH:VIII-019 it is possible to read micel as subject, and ðin geleafa as complement, though the sense is somewhat strained.

In SH, as in CH, V-C order predominates, accounting for 89% of instances:

	C1	C2	C3	
C - V	0	26	0	26
V - C	15	94	154	263
	15	120	154	289

$\chi^2 = 40.237$ with 2 d.f.; one cell has expected count less than 5.0.

Examples include:

C2 - V

Eadig is Maria þæt arwyrðe mæden (SH:IV-289)

Arrius hatte iu sum healic gedwola (SH:X-159)

V - C1

Ure geleafa is mara (SH:III-176)

On þære menniscnysse is se Fæder mare (SH:X-147)

V - C2

His gifa syndon micle on seofonfealde wisan on wisdom and on andgite and on wislicum geþeahhte on modes anrædnysse mid micelre strengðe on soðum ingehyde and on arfæstnysse on Godes ege eac mid underþeodnysse (SH:IX-139)

Petrus wæs ða fiscere (SH:XIV-075)

V - C3

He is seo micle Lufu and se mihtiga Willa þæs Fæder and þæs Suna of heom bam gelice (SH:VII-210)

Crist sylf is mannes Sunu (SH:XVIII-410)

Stylistic motivations may account for some of the instances of pre-verbal complement. In SH:X-159, for example, the proper noun Arrius placed in initial position in the clause provides a dramatic introduction to a new section within the homily, a device which is repeated at line 170 Olimpius wæs gehaten sum oðer gedwola. It is noteworthy that the order verb - complement occurs even when the complement is a pronoun.

The order of complement and complex verb

Of the twenty examples from CH, 19 show the order v-V-C, all having a complement which is a noun (qualified or unqualified) rather than a pronoun. Examples include:

Iericho is gereht mona (CH:XII-428)

Iesus wæs gehaten ure Hælend Crist fram ðam engle (CH:XII-418)

In addition is the clause þa wæron gehatene ANNANIAS AZARIAS MISHAEL, CH:I-231, which is probably adjectival, but which could be interpreted as a non-conjoined declarative. There is one example of v-C-V in the clause he bið þonne Godes bearn geciged, CH:XIII-072. Here the complement is of heavy weight.

Of the 14 examples from SH, all have a complement which is a single noun, and all show the order v-V-C. Examples include:

Se Sunderhalga wæs gehaten Nichodemus (SH:XII-047)

he het us beon mildheorte oðrum mannum symble mid ealre godnyse (SH:XIII-054)

The order of direct and indirect objects

Of a sample of 141 clauses from CH there are 35 (25%) instances of O-I, and 106 (75%) of I-O. Examples include:

0 - I

he hit us forgylt be hundfealdum on ðam toweardan life
(CH:VII-111)

Se Ælmihtiga God cyð his godnysse us (CH:XIX-262)

I - 0

þa sæde he him þis bigspel (CH:VI-004)

God Ælmihtig bebytt mannum þæt ... (CH:XIII-082)

The sample from SH is 137, of which 67 (49%) examples show 0-I and 70 (51%) I-0. Examples include:

0 - I

On ða wisan he forgeaf þone gylt þam wife (SH:XIII-228)

ic hit hæbbe eow gesæd (SH:XVIII-382)

I - 0

he tæcð eow ealle soðfæstnysse (SH:VII-195)

Ic forlæte eow sibbe (SH:X-121)

Within CH a tendency may be observed to place the direct object before the indirect object, even when the direct object is heavier than the indirect, as in example CH:XIX-262. In SH by contrast the weight of the objects appears to be the ordering principle, with the lighter of the objects occurring first.

The nature of the initial adverbial

The importance of initial adverbials in influencing the element-order of clauses of this type requires that some comments should be offered concerning the sort of adverbials which usually occupy this position. Dividing them into the three weight categories, a table of the occurrence of each adverbial weight in initial position in the two prose types may be offered:

	<u>CH</u>	<u>SH</u>	
A1	568	255	823
A2	66	34	100
A3	82	95	177
TOTAL	716	384	1100

These results may be compared with the occurrence of adverbials of each weight in any position within a clause:

	<u>CH</u>	<u>SH</u>	
A1	1175	714	1889
A2	506	236	742
A3	1141	530	1671
TOTAL	2822	1480	4302

A few points should be made in connection with these figures. A substantial proportion of the adverbials which occur in declarative clauses are placed in initial position - 25% (716 of 2,822) in CH and 26% (384 of 1,480) in SH. Single adverbials are more likely to be found in initial position than are adverbials of medium or heavy weight. This is most clearly indicated by the testimony of CH, where 48% of the total of light adverbials occupy initial position, in contrast with 13% of medium adverbials and 7% of heavy adverbials. Figures for SH are comparable, with 36% of light adverbials falling in initial position, 14% of medium adverbials and 18% of heavy adverbials. Examined from a different point of view, in CH 80% of adverbials which are initial are of light weight, and in SH the corresponding figure is 71%. In general direction these figures correspond with a tendency observed below specifically for declarative clauses and with minor variations for all other clause types, which is that light adverbials tend to precede the finite verb and heavy adverbials tend to follow. It appears that only this tendency need be invoked to explain the majority of instances of initial adverbials in declarative clauses. In general it seems that an adverbial is placed initial purely

because it is of light weight, and that the resultant inversion of subject and verb may be looked upon as no more than a consequence of the clause containing a light adverbial.

The order of single adverbial and finite verb

Figures offered within this section refer specifically to non-initial adverbials within declarative clauses. Total figures for adverbials both initial and non-initial may be obtained should they be required by adding the figures for initial adverbials in the table above to the figures in the first row of the tables below.

In CH the distribution is as follows:

	A1	A2	A3	
A - V	72	11	31	114
V - A	79	109	296	484
	151	120	327	598

$\chi^2 = 107.236$ with 2 d.f.

Examples include:

A1 - V

ƿa wearð he færlice astreht (CH:II-133)

Se halga ða sona andwyrde (CH:X-090)

A2 - V

Iosue se heretoga mid sige wearð gebyld (CH:XII-401)

ƿæt folc him to cwæð (CH:XIV-188)

A3 - V

Witodlice fram ðam endenextan ongann se hires ealdor to agyldenne þone pening (CH:V-137)

We on ðisum life magon helpa þam forðfarenum ðe ... (CH:XXI-131)

V - A1

Dis wed we healdað gerynelice (CH:XV-154)

Furseus oncneow sona ða sawle (CH:XX-208)

V - A2

Sum þæt sæd sprang betwux ðornum (CH:VI-009)

Se Hælend cwæð to him (CH:XVI-125)

V - A3

Heo becom to þære stowe (CH:XVIII-040)

se wæs his tunman ær on life (CH:XX-208)

The distribution in SH is:

	A1	A2	A3	
A - V	60	0	15	75
V - A	152	68	146	366
	212	68	161	441

$\chi^2 = 39.842$ with 2 d.f.

Examples include:

A1 - V

Þa tilian þa gesawon þone sunu (SH:III-020)

Me soðlice he mærsað (SH:VII-219)

A3 - V

Hwæt þa se mildheorta Crist þurh his godcundan mihte þone mann gehælde (SH:IV-007)

Ða halgan apostolas þurh þone Halgan Gast wurden swa gelærede (SH:VII-196)

V - A1

God sylf him forgylt eft (SH:XVI-271)

He wearð þa gefullod (SH:XXI-641)

V - A2

He forlet hi on sibbe (SH:X-125)

Ic secge eow to soþan (SH:XV-129)

V - A3

Ic ferde fram þam Fæder (SH:VIII-219)

se bið him getrywe on ðam maran þingum (SH:XVI-281)

In both prose types the tendency to place all non-initial adverbials, especially heavy adverbials, post-verbally should be noted.

The order of two (non-initial) adverbials and the finite verb

Examples include:

A - A - V (CH=43;SH=0)

Ðu stunta, nu toniht ðu scealt ðin lif alætan (CH:VII-097)

Ic ða betwux þam werodum þam engle fyligende þohte þæt ... (CH:XXI-063)

A - V - A (CH=75;SH=19)

Hi ða ferdon forð siðigende (CH:X-106)

Furseus ða wearð þurh ðas bodunge ablicged (CH:XX-174)

Se Hælend þa sæde his apostolum þus (SH:X-120)

Ða englas þonne blawað heora byman hlude (SH:XVIII-418)

V - A - A (CH=229;SH=140)

Fela oðre tacna wurdon eac gesewene on Iudeiscre leode (CH:XVII-124)

He ne andwyrde ðam wife æt fruman na for modignysse (CH:VIII-045)

He com nihtes to Criste (SH:XII-069)

He asent þonne soðlice hys englas (SH:XVIII-414)

The predominance of the order V-A-A is apparent, accounting for around two-thirds of instances from CH and the majority of those from SH. The absence of instances from SH of A-A-V is noteworthy; though this pattern is infrequent in CH, the sample from SH is large

enough for it to be reasonable to expect to find some instances within this category.

The order of three adverbials and finite verb

Examples include:

(A-) A - A - A - V (-A) (CH=15;SH=0)

Crist mildheortlice his cwellerum to ðam Ælmihtigum Fæder geðingode
(CH:II-181)

Hi ða hrædlice eft hine unscryddan þam rædan wæfelse(CH:XIV-202)

(A-) A - A - V - A (-A) (CH=43;SH=0)

Augustinus ða mid his geferum ... ferde be Gregories hæse
(CH:IX-188)

Furseus soðlice mid ðam ðrym englum gewende to eorðan
(CH:XX-202)

(A-) A - V - A - A (-A) (CH=50;SH=0)

Þæt folc ða færlice ongann forð aræsan betwux ... (CH:X-116)

Petrus ða teah þæt net to lande mid micclum fixum afylled
(CH:XVI-123)

(A-) V - A - A - A (-A) (CH=117;SH=98)

gecyrrað nu huruðinga on ylde to lifes wege (CH:V-124)

Ferde ða to Farne on flowendre yðe (CH:X-163)

Þes finger oferswiðde soðlice þa drymen on Egipta lande ætforan
Farao (SH:IV-139)

Crist cwæð on oðre stowe be þam arleasum þuss (SH:XVIII-424)

Attention must be drawn to the uniform occurrence in SH of three adverbials in a group after the verb. This is startling when dealing with adverbials, a category frequently considered to be particularly free in their position. It contrasts too with the observed patterns of CH, where three adverbials after the verb account for only just over half of the sample, with significant numbers recorded for each of the other three categories.

Discontinuous elements

Discontinuous nominal elements are infrequent throughout the Ælfric corpus; within the category of non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses they are sufficiently numerous as a result of the large sample size to require a brief note. They have been excluded from the figures presented above. There are examples of discontinuous subjects, direct objects and complements, though none of discontinuous indirect objects. A nominal element which is discontinuous is frequently particularly heavy in weight, as for example in Twegen þissera becomon to us broðer and swuster Paulus and Palladia widcuðe ðurh heora yrmðe, CH:II-126. Sometimes a resumptive pronoun may reiterate a subject expressed some distance previously, as for example Se Ælmihtiga Godes Sunu ... ða send He His bydel toforan him IOHANNEM þone fulluhtere, CH:III-004. This clause has both a discontinuous subject (Se Ælmihtiga Godes Sunu and He) and a discontinuous direct object (His bydel and IOHANNEM þone fulluhtere). Alliterative considerations probably serve as an explanation for the discontinuous complement in Peah þe hi heardheorte wæron and hetole on mode, SH:III-168. Other examples of discontinuous nominal elements include:

ða wurdon ealle endemes adylegode (CH:XII-408)

Iosue ða siððan and Israhel ofslogon seofon ðeoda mid ðam foresaðum cynegum (CH:XII-439)

Se heahfæder Abraham forðferde and witegan (CH:XIII-027)

Hys apostoli arærdon and heora æftergangen manega menn of deaðe (SH:VI-324)

Such instances are not sufficiently numerous to enable an analysis of element-order within such clauses to be carried out.

Clause Patterns

Examples and figures may be offered for the occurrence of patterns of three elements. It is appropriate to divide these between those without and those with an initial adverbial.

Clauses without an initial adverbial

Examples of clause patterns containing both subject and direct object include the following:

S - V - O CH=455;SH=334

Ʒa englas ȝa gelæhton ȝa sawle (CH:XX-210)

He beleac Ʒa his tempel mid geleafan onbryrd (SH:XXI-630)

S - O - V CH=98;SH=42

Cuȝberhtus ȝa mid gebede his sceaweres seocnysse gehælde
(CH:X-093)

Se Hælend hi gefrefrode mid his fægerum wordum (SH:X-131)

V - O - S CH=0;SH=0

V - S - O CH=0;SH=0

O - S - V CH=53;SH=37

Ʒæt ceaf he forbærnȝ on unadwæscendlicum fyre (CH:IV-265)

Micele maran gyltas man mæg gebetan her on Ʒisum life
(SH:XV-157)

O - V - S CH=23;SH=26

Micel yfel deȝ se (CH:Preface-046)

Ʒis sæde se Hælend be his apostolum (SH:IV-120)

Of the six possible patterns for the elements subject, direct object and finite verb, two (V-O-S and V-S-O) are not found in either CH or SH. Their absence in a sample of this size - 629 clauses from CH, and 439 from SH - is an important result, for these unattested patterns imply that verb initial was not a valid element-order for clauses of

this type. The most frequently found order is S-V-O, which accounts for 72% of instances from CH, and 76% from SH. The patterns S-O-V, O-S-V and O-V-S are frequently found to contain pronominal direct objects. In the examples quoted above these include hi, SH:X-131 and Dis, SH:IV-120; however direct objects of medium and heavy weight are found in these patterns, as for example his sceaweres seocnysse, CH:X-093, within a clause which appears to emphasise the verb by placing it in final position, and the direct objects þæt ceaf, CH:V-265, Micele maran gyltas, SH:XV-157, and Micel yfel, CH:Preface-046, all of which function as the themes to their clauses, and appropriately fall before the verb.

Examples for clause patterns containing both subject and indirect object include the following.

S - V - I CH=82;SH=94

God Ælmihtig bebytt mannum þæt ... (CH:XIII-082)

he cyð eow (SH:VII-215)

S - I - V CH=43;SH=30

Se Hælend him cwæð to (CH:XVI-113)

Se Hælend him sæde þa be þam hyrnstane þus (SH:III-030)

V - S - I CH=0;SH=3

Swa micelne wurðmynte forgeaf se mildheorta Drihten his halgum þegnum (SHXXI-672)

V - I - S CH=0;SH=0

I - S - V CH=4;SH=11

Þam he sylf sæde (CH:VI-016)

Þa yfelan tilian he yfele forðeð (SH:III-027 and III-136)

I - V - S CH=12;SH=18

Him ða geuðe se Ælmihtiga God fægere getignysse ðam folce (CH:X-132)

Ðæs us geunne se Ælmihtiga Wealdend (SH:IV-297)

Results for the positioning of the indirect object relative to the subject and verb are similar to those obtained for the direct object.

The sample is 141 for CH, and 156 for SH. The order V-I-S is not attested, while V-S-I is found only in SH, and is there rare, constituting only 2% of instances. S-V-I predominates, accounting for 58% in CH, and 60% in SH. An appreciable number of instances have the order S-I-V - 30% from CH and 19% from SH. In this respect patterns containing an indirect object differ from those with a direct object, where the comparable order of S-O-V is shown in 15% of CH, and 10% of SH.

For the position of subject and complement the following examples and figures may be presented:

S - V - C CH=230;SH=212

se wæs his tunman ær on life (CH:XX-208)

he is anes mannes sunu (SH:XVIII-411)

S - C - V CH=0;SH=0

V - S - C CH=0;SH=11

nis heo þonne lufu (SH:X-061)

V - C - S CH=0;SH=0

C - S - V CH=7;SH=3

Scyldig he wæs to hellicere susle for his mandædum (CH:V-131)

Swiðe mildheorte he is þam ... (SH:XIII-082)

C - V - S CH=15;SH=26

Menigfealde beoð þæs Metodan Drihtnes egsan and swingla ofer scyldigum mannum (CH:XIX-259)

Arrius hatte iu sum healic gedwola (SH:X-159)

The standard pattern is S-V-C, shown by 230 instances from CH (91% of a sample of 252) and 212 from SH (84% of a sample of 252). Other patterns are unusual; the most frequently encountered is that of C-V-S, where the fronting of the complement has prompted inversion of subject and verb.

Clauses with an initial adverbial

The following figures and examples may be presented:

S - V - O CH=74;SH=40

Nu we tocnawað þæt ... (CH:XIII-026)

on swilcum he macað symle his wununge (SH:IV-230)

S - O - V CH=15;SH=21

Eft se halga Stephanus under þam heardum stanum his cneowa gebigde (CH:II-184)

Soð soð ic eow secge (SH:VIII-056)

V - O - S CH=0;SH=0

V - S - O CH=176;SH=91

Ða axode Pilatus eft æt ðam folce hwæt ... (CH:XIV-189)

On þære Frigenihtes ... hæfde ure Hælend ... swiðe langsume spræce wið his leorningcnihtas (SH:VIII-020)

O - S - V CH=0;SH=0

O - V - S CH=0;SH=0

For the three elements subject, direct object and verb in clauses with an initial adverbial only three of the theoretical six patterns are exemplified. The absence of V-O-S may be compared with the absence of this pattern in clauses without an initial adverbial (though V-S-O, unattested in clauses without an initial adverbial, is here common). The patterns O-S-V and O-V-S are not found. It may be suggested that the presence of an adverbial in initial position displaces the direct object which might otherwise fall there. The most frequently encountered pattern is V-S-O, which constitutes 176 instances from CH (66% of a sample of 265) and 91 instances from SH (60% of 152). The concept of verb second is useful in that it provides a descriptive generalisation both for the high frequency of S-V-O in clauses without an initial adverbial, and of A-V-S-O in these clauses with an initial adverbial. Both the subjects and the direct objects

which are placed before the verb are usually pronouns (as for example we in CH:XIII-026, he in SH:IV-230, and subject ic and direct object eow in SH:VIII-056). Inevitably exceptions may be found, as example CH:II-184. Subject before direct object appears as a rule in clauses of this type.

Examples and figures for the order of indirect object relative to subject and verb may be presented as follows:

S - V - I CH=0;SH=4

On ða wisan he forgeaf þone gylt þam wife (SH:XIII-228)

S - I - V CH=14;SH=10

Soð soð ic eow secge (CH:XIII-039 & XIII-076)

Soð ic eow secge (SH:XI-449)

V - S - I CH=27;SH=42

þa sæde he him þis bigspel (CH:VI-004)

Ne forgife ic eow (SH:X-015)

V - I - S CH=0;SH=9

þa cwæp him sum wif to of þære menio mid micelre stemne (SH:IV-269)

I - S - V CH=0;SH=0

I - V - S CH=45;SH=0

Witodlice mid þyssere getacnunge us bið awend þæt sixte wæterfæt to deor wurðum wine (CH:IV-289)

Patterns containing an indirect object show variation between the two prose styles. The order V-I-S is unrepresented in CH, though there are several examples in SH. It is possible that a small sample has produced an uncharacteristic result. In the instances of I-V-S however it is apparent that a pattern which is well attested in CH, and the most frequently found order there for these three elements, is unrepresented in SH. The most common order in SH is V-S-I (comparable to the frequent occurrence of V-S-O in both CH and SH). The change appears to reflect a difference in linguistic register between the two prose types.

S - V - C CH=39;SH=5

Gyt ðu ne eart fiftig geara (CH:XIII-038)

Witodlice se hyrnstan ... ys se Hælend sylf (SH:III-142)

S - C - V CH=0;SH=0

V - S - C CH=29;SH=34

On ðære sixtan ylde wearð ure Drihten geflæschamod (CH:IV-277)

nis heo þonne lufu (SH:X-061)

V - C - S CH=0;SH=8

Gyt synd eadigran þa ðe ... (SH:IV-054)

C - S - V CH=0;SH=0

C - V - S CH=0;SH=0

Three of the six theoretical patterns for complement position are represented. Absent are S-C-V, C-S-V and C-V-S; the complement must always follow the verb. The orders S-V-C and V-S-C are most common; V-C-S is found only in SH, and may be produced there in response to rhythmic requirements.

Conclusion

The importance of distinguishing between those clauses with an initial adverbial, and those without an initial adverbial, has been demonstrated by the results of this section. There is ample evidence to indicate that the positioning of an adverbial at the head of a non-conjoined declarative promotes inversion of subject and verb. Among those clauses with simple verb and without an initial adverbial the order S-V is attested in 94% of instances in each of CH and SH. A variety of motivations may be offered for the instances of V-S, many of them stylistic, and including emphasis, alliterative requirements, and the placing of theme before rheme. Similarly for clauses with a complex verb and without an initial adverbial subject

preceding verb is the usual order, appearing as a rule in CH, and in 99% of instances in SH. When an initial adverbial is present the subject most often precedes the simple verb in both CH and SH, though there are many exceptions to this tendency. Pronominal subjects are likely to remain before the simple verb despite the presence of an initial adverbial. The position is similar when clauses with complex verbs are considered. Pronominal subjects are often found before both parts of the complex verb; heavy subjects are always found after the whole of the complex verb; subjects of medium weight are most often found between finite and non-finite verb.

As to the direct object, several observations may be made. The direct object following the finite verb is the position most frequently encountered both in clauses with simple verbs, and those with complex verbs. The weight of the direct object influences its position, with light direct objects usually preceding the finite verb, and heavy direct objects usually following; stylistic considerations on occasion play a part in determining order. When clause patterns consisting of the three elements subject, verb and direct object are examined it is found that the verb is never initial in such cases; subject, direct object or both precede the verb. An initial object is most frequently followed by S-V order; however there are a substantial number of instances of V-S, which taken in conjunction with the paucity of V-S order throughout non-conjoined declaratives indicates that an initial direct object, like an initial adverbial, encourages inversion.

Results for indirect objects are similar to those for direct objects - the indirect object most frequently follows the finite verb, but its position is influenced by its weight, and by stylistic factors. For clause patterns as a whole there is evidence that an initial indirect object promotes V-S order.

Complements show a strong tendency to follow the verb, be it simple or complex, the few exceptions generally of medium weight

(pronominal complements are unusual; medium weight is the lightest frequently found weight category) and generally explicable on stylistic grounds.

The position of single adverbials within a clause is in part explicable in terms of weight - light adverbials generally preceding the verb, and heavy adverbials generally following. This tendency applies as much to initial adverbials as to non-initial. The implication of this observation is that a change in the adverbial used to qualify a verb from one of two or more words (which is most likely to be placed post-verbally), to a single word adverbial (which is likely to be placed pre-verbally, and very possibly initially) will, all other things being equal, promote inversion of subject and verb. The weight of an adverbial may therefore have a direct bearing on the sequence of elements within the clause.

Differences between CH and SH are slight. Attention may be drawn to the greater frequency of v-S-V and v-O-V in SH than in CH, and the greater frequency of v-I-V in CH than in SH, to the tendency in CH (absent from SH) to place heavy subjects after the whole of the complex verb, and for some slight differences in the positioning of two or more adverbials between the two prose types. Though statistically significant, these differences should not be accorded undue prominence; the predominant picture is of conformity between the element-order of CH and SH within this clause category.

2.2 CONJOINED DECLARATIVE AND EXCLAMATIVE CLAUSESIntroduction

Conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses exhibit tendencies in element-order which are distinct from those shown by non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses. It is appropriate therefore to treat clauses of this type separately. Their identification is usually straightforward; the introductory conjunctions are and, ac and ne. The sample is of 1,938 clauses, 950 from CH and 988 from SH.

Clauses other than declaratives may be conjoined. Thus, for instance, there are conjoined imperative clauses (as for example and on Samaritaniscra burgum ne becume ge, CH:VIII-048), conjoined interrogatives (as for example and gesawe ðu Abraham?, CH:XIII-038), and conjoined dependent clauses (as for example and fela tacna wyrcað men to beswicanne mid heora scincraeftum, SH:XVIII-379). Such conjoined clauses are discussed separately only where they appear to influence element-order.

The order of subject and simple verb

The sample from CH is of 763 clauses, and from SH of 865 clauses. Results from CH are:

	S1	S2	S3	
S - V	385	182	143	710
V - S	23	10	20	53
	408	192	163	763

$\chi^2 = 9.126$ with 2 d.f.

S1 - V

and hi on Godes geleafan ðeonde ðurhwunodon oð ðisum
dægðerlicum dæge (CH:IX-252)

ac hi beoð soðlice æfter ðære halgunge Cristes lichama and his
blod ðurh gastlicere gerynu (CH:XV-106)

S2 - V

and Cuðberhtus ðam folce fægere bodade (CH:X-113)

and þæt fyr sona geswac (CH:XX-215)

S3 - V

Ac ðæs halgan andwerdnyss eaðelice acwencte þæs deofles dyderunge (CH:X-121)

ac eal þæt apostolice werod samod mid micelre anrædnysse bād (CH:VIII-063)

V - S1

and becumað on domes dæge ealle to heofonan rice (CH:XXI-076)

V - S2

ac mid þam ymgange and ðurh ðæra sacerda blawunge toburston ða weallas (CH:XII-433)

V - S3

And efne ða ferde an Chananeisc wif of ðam gemærum togeanes tham Hælende (CH:VIII-006)

and him cwædon ða to gesewenlice englas (CH:XVIII-013)

The order subject - verb predominates, accounting for 93% of instances. Negative clauses in this category show 70 (90%) examples of S-V, and 8 of V-S, a ratio which corresponds with that observed for all clauses within this category. The V-S pattern appears slightly more common when the subject is heavy; this is not a reflection of the grammatical necessity for a subject which is itself a clause to fall at the end of its head clause in order to avoid the embedding of one clause within another, for there is only one instance of this type within the sample analysed, and forbærnde to deaðe ða ðe ..., CH:I-243. The choice of V-S in some instances reflects stylistic considerations. Thus for example in CH:VIII-048 ne becume ge repeats the order shown by Ne fare ge, CH:VIII-047, which is within the previous clause. In clauses CH:XII-433 and CH:XVIII-013 the placing of the subject appears to be associated with the placing of another element within the clause, both showing X-V-S clause pattern, with

the initial element promoting inversion. In some instances the pattern is perhaps encouraged by a stylistic device. Thus in CH:XII-433 the stress falls on the two adverbial elements which fall before the verb because these elements are placed initial within the clause, which is appropriate in order to emphasise the priests' blowing (of trumpets) rather than the walls of Jericho. Example CH:XXI-076 warrants comment; it shows the order V-S in so far as ealle has the function of subject. However the example is unlike other instances of V-S in that ealle is really a modifier of an understood subject. The subject is known from the outset of the clause.

Of the 865 clauses from SH, 791 show subject - verb order, and 75 verb - subject. The distribution is:

	S1	S2	S3	
S - V	480	120	191	791
V - S	0	37	37	74
	480	157	228	865

$\chi^2 = 107.292$ with 2.d.f.

S1 - V

and þæt is swyðe god spell þurh Godes tocyme us to gehyrenne
(SH:VIII-006)

and hi gegadriað Godes gecorenan menn fram þam feower windum
þissere worulde and of þære eorðan up oð þa heofonan
(SH:XVIII-415)

S2 - V

and Nichodemus þa on his nytennesses cwæð (SH:XII-074)

and his synna ne beoð syððan on gemynde (SH:XV-163)

S3 - V

ac hi ealle beoð on anre blisse mid Criste hine lufigende buton
toforlættnysse and hine herigende butan werignysse (SH:XI-561)

ac þa rihtwisan menn awænðað heora feoh to heora lifes neodum
(SH:XVI-265)

V - S2

and gesælige syndon þa breost(SH:IV-053 & 272)

and us becom seo lar of Iudea lande þurh þa halgan apostolas

(SH:XIV-092)

V - S3

ac þam gedwolan becom for his micclum gedwylde swyðe bysmorlic
deað (SH:X-163)

and ðær soðlice bið an ece dæg (SH:XI-568)

Subject - verb order predominates, accounting for 91% of the sample. Post-verbal position of the subject may frequently be explained by the presence of an element other than the subject at the head of the clause, promoting X-S-V. Stylistic factors may promote inversion in some clauses. Clause final position of the subject (and clause initial for the complement) may reflect the influence of the Latin original, as at SH:IV-053 and 272, where the line and gesælige syndon þa breost þe þu gesuce glosses the Vulgate Beatus venter, qui te portavit (Luke XI.27), though note that here the initial complement itself encourages inversion, in the pattern X-V-S. In SH:XIV-092 Ælfric develops a parallel structure to aid in the understanding of his allegory:

Of Petrus scipe he lærde þæt folc on ðam lande
and us becom seo lar of Iudea lande (SH:XIV-091/2)

The placing of us in initial position within the conjoined clause may be viewed as a sufficient explanation of the inversion of subject and verb, presenting again the pattern X-V-S. The result is stylistically meritorious. The alliteration of both these lines is unusual in that it appears to fall on the second b-line stress. I suggest here that Ælfric has departed from the conventions of alliterative writing in that he is seeking through alliteration to bind together not only two half-lines, but also two lines. In the first line lærde and lande link with lar and the repeated lande of the second line, stressing the comparison that is being made between, on the one hand, Petrus scipe and Iudea lande, and on the other, þæt folc and us. The "couplet" thus formed appears to me to be most effective.

The distribution is essentially the same as that observed for CH,

save there are no examples of pronominal subjects following the verb. In this respect SH is comparable with modern element-order.

The order of subject and complex verb

The sample from CH is of 142 clauses, from SH of 34. Of those from CH, most have the order of finite verb - non-finite verb. However there are three examples from CH and one from SH of non-finite - finite order:

ne nan ceorian ne mæg (CH:V-157)

and he his geferan befrinan ongann hwa ... (CH:X-100)

and se deað siððan us derian ne mæg (CH:XII-438)

and hi læran mihton mancynn on worulde of ðam ealdum bocum (SH:VII-199)

It may be noted that two of these four examples (CH:V-157 and CH:XII-438) are negative clauses. In all cases the subject precedes the whole of the complex verb.

There are 139 clauses with a complex verb, all of the form finite verb - non-finite verb, all of which put the subject before the whole of the verb phrase. Examples showing varying subject weight include:

and on ðam eahteoðan dæge his acennednysse he wæs ymsnyden æfter Moyses æ (CH:IV-278)

and his rice wæs astreht fram ðære micclan ea Humbre oð Suðsæ (CH:IX-191)

and his gastlica lichama ... is of manegum cornum gegaderod buton blode and bane limleas and sawulleas (CH:XV-133)

The only partial exception is and we magon us sylfe betwux us on life ælc oðrum fultumian to ðam upplican life, CH:XXI-132, where the subject is discontinuous, we preceding the finite verb, and the subject reiterated in us sylfe which falls within the verb phrase.

In contrast to the simple picture from CH is a rather more

complex distribution in SH. The order of non-finite verb - finite verb is absent, save for the one instance noted above, but the three possible positions of a subject relative to a complex verb of the form finite verb - non-finite verb are attested. The results are presented in tabular form taking into account subject weight, though the sample is too small for reliable conclusions to be drawn about the influence of weight:

	S1	S2	S3	
S-v-V	21	3	7	31
v-S-V	1	1	0	2
v-V-S	0	0	1	1
	22	4	8	34

$\chi^2 = 6.444$ with 4 d.f.; however five cells have expected counts less than 1.0, and seven cells less than 5.0, so the χ^2 approximation is probably invalid. Restructuring the table taking S2 and S3 together, and combining v-S-V and v-V-S, produces the following table:

	S1	S2 & S3	
S-v-V	21	10	31
v-S-V & v-V-S	1	2	3
	22	12	34

Here the value for χ^2 is 1.418 with 1 d.f., with two cells with expected counts less than 5.0. This is a useful result; it indicates that when the subject is of light weight it tends not to fall after the finite verb.

Examples include:

S1 - v - V

ac he wolde swiþor þurh þæt an wundor awreccan heora mod
(SH:II-136)

and hi beoð geendebyrde ælc be his geearnungum (SH:XI-548)

S2 - v - V

ac hys wundra næron awritene ealle (SH:VI-319)

ac se weg sceal beon swiðe earfoðe us (SH:XIV-105)

and þas þing sceolon ... on ðam toweardan wite beon afeormode
(SH:XV-154)

S3 - v - V

and Godes lufu is agoten on urum heortum þurh þone ylcan Gast
(SH:VII-223)

ne se yfela preost ne mæg þurh his agene synna Godes þenunga
befylan (SH:XII-091)

v - S1 - V

and eow bið god forgifen (SH:XIII-013 & 106)

v - S2 - V

and forðig is se Hælend her gecweden lareow (SH:XIII-144)

v - V - S3

and wearð eft gefylled þæt twelffealde getel on þam twelf apostolum (SH:VI-353)

The evidence gives some scant support to the intuitive view that heavy subjects might be expected to follow the whole of the complex verb, as is attested in other clause types. The constraints of alliteration presumably promote the order of SH:XIII-037, the line being Dælað and doð god, and eow bið god forgifen, where the alliteration requires that god in the b-line should avoid the final stress, while the placing of eow at the front of the clause undoubtedly encourages inversion, producing X-V-S clause pattern. The initial adverbial forði in SH:XIII-144 appears to act in a similar manner, promoting inversion. Fronting of an element other than the subject may be associated with inversion of subject and verb in clauses of this type, as for example in clause SH:XIII-013 & 106, though the sample is far too small to investigate this phenomenon in a systematic manner.

The differences between CH and SH are striking. While in CH subject falls before the verb (usually v-V, occasionally V-v) without exceptions, in SH by contrast, though S-v-V dominates, v-S-V and v-V-S are attested. Also noteworthy is the relative infrequency of conjoined declarative clauses in SH compared with CH. It would appear that in SH, Ælfric avoided using such constructions, but when he did choose to make use of such a form displayed a degree of freedom in the position of the subject.

One example with a discontinuous subject should be noted: and þu nelt geseon þe sylf þone beam þe ..., SH:XIII-029, where þu

precedes both parts of the verb, but the reiterated subject þe sylf follows the whole of the verb phrase.

The order of direct object and verb

Following the pattern adopted for non-conjoined clauses the order of the direct object is considered here relative to the verb, and at a later stage within clause patterns.

The sample is 750 clauses from CH, and 554 from SH. Of those from CH, 260 (35%) show O-V order, and 490 (65%) V-O. Taking weight into account reveals the following distribution:

		01		02		03		
O - V		100		74		86		260
V - O		47		163		280		490
		147		237		366		750

$\chi^2 = 93.634$ with 2 d.f.

01 - V

and gecneordlice hi mid weorcum gefylð (CH:XIII-090)

ac he hine hrædlice mid his æriste awarep (CH:XIV-226)

02 - V

and þæt folc gebletsode (CH:II-145)

and he ðone grund gesohte mid horse mid ealle (CH:XVIII-029)

03 - V

and mid micelre genyrdnysse Godes folc to ðam ecan life gewissode (CH:IX-254)

and nænne fisc ne gelæhton (CH:XVI-111)

V - 01

and fulliað hi on naman þæs Ælmihtigan Fæder and His Suna and þæs Halgan Gastes (CH:VIII-055)

and asende hine sona to ðam foresædan Pilate (CH:XIV-176)

V - 02

ac he geandette his synna Drihtne sylfum on ðære rodeehengene mid fullum geleafum (CH:V-132)

and sende eft ongean ærendracan to ðam geleaffullan cyning
 æþelbrihte mid gewritum and menigfealdum lacum (CH:IX-235)

V - 03

and he sealde him ða hlaf and fisc (CH:XVI-126)

and awurpon ane unrihtwise sawle byrnende uppon ðam eadigan
 were Furseum (CH:XX-205)

It is apparent that weight is a significant factor in the ordering of these elements, with two-thirds of the pronominal direct objects falling in pre-verbal position, but only a quarter of those of medium or heavy weight taking this position.

From SH there are 247 instances of O-V (45%), and 307 (55%) V-O. In tabular form taking weight into account:

		01		02		03		
O - V		115		70		62		247
V - O		53		85		169		307
		168		155		231		554

$\chi^2 = 68.197$ with 2 d.f.

Examples include:

01 - V

and on ealre soðfæstnysse he hi symle getrymde (SH:IX-138)

and Iosue hi lædde to ðam behatenan lande (SH:XX-372)

02 - V

and ænne gehælde se Hælend on his tocyme for ðære annysse ures
 geleafan (SH:II-126)

and him ealle asæde be his godes geancyme and be his modes smeauge
 (SH:XXI-632)

03 - V

and heom fela þing sæde on his fundunge þa (SH:VIII-023)

and he his seofonfealdan gifa besæwð on us mannum (SH:IX-121)

V - 01

and ofslogon þa (SH:IV-081)

ac he ne gesceop hi na to godum ac to oðrum gesceaftum
 (SH:XXI-660)

V - 02

and he forlet middaneard (SH:VIII-223)

and habbað heora hyht to þam heofonlicum spedum to þam ecum
þingum on eornost swaðeah (SH:XVI-267)

V - 03

and he ne gewilnað nanes wuldres furðor ofer þæt (SH:XI-556)

and hi gegaderiað Godes gecorenan menn fram þam feower windum
þissere worulde and of þære eorðan up oð þa heofonan
(SH:XVIII-415)

Results from SH differ from CH in that O-V order is found in 45% of instances, in contrast with 35% in CH. Pre-verbal position of the direct object is more common when the direct object is of medium or heavy weight, where it approaches half of the sample.

The order of direct object and complex verb

In CH there are no examples of O-v-V, perhaps because the subject is the nominal element which characteristically occupies pre-verbal position in clauses of this type. There are 27 instances of v-V-O, and 54 of v-O-V. Examples include:

v - V - O

and wolde geseon sum wundor fram him (CH:XIV-172)

v - O - V

and wolde þurh hine sylfne sona hi geneosian (CH:X-146)

and woldon tærrihte hine to rode gelædan (CH:XIV-204)

There is no evidence to suggest that the distribution is influenced by the weight of the direct object.

From SH the results are similar to those obtained from CH. There is one example of O-v-V in the clause and eow bið forgifen, SH:XIII-012. Here the nominal element which precedes the whole of the complex verb is morphologically distinct from the subject, and cannot be misconstrued as a subject. The meaning of the clause is

clear, despite its unusual element-order. There are 52 instances of v-V-0, and 72 of v-0-V. Examples include:

v - V - 0

ac he wolde swiþor þurh þæt an wundor awreccan heora mod
(SH:II-136)

and man ne sceal mid gewille bewerian þone scyldigan ne eft mid
nanum wo þone unscyldigan fordon ne for nanum sceatte þæt soðe
awægan ne for nanum ege þæt unriht drifan ac mid mildheortnysse
þa men gerihtlæcan (SH:XIII-093)

v - 0 - V

ac wolde hine aræran (SH:VI-332)

and wolde his lare leornian æt him digollice nihtes (SH:XII-064)

A motivation for the choice of v-V-0 or v-0-V is hard to discern. The important factor would appear to be simply that the direct object is placed after the finite verb. Example SH:XIII-093 shows a degree of flexibility between the two pattern. The clause begins as a straightforward instance of v-V-0 and man ne sceal mid gewille bewerian þone scyldigan, but subsequently shows four successive examples of 0-V: þone unscldigan fordon, þæt soðe awægan, þæt unriht drifan and þa men gerihtlæcan. X

Results from CH and SH are similar, with a virtual absence of 0-v-V, which contrasts with the frequent occurrence of pre-verbal direct object in clauses with a simple verb. The pattern v-0-V predominates in both prose types, accounting for 61% and 60% respectively of the total sample.

The order of simple verb and indirect object

The sample is 159 clauses from CH, and 188 from SH. In CH the sample divides almost exactly between I-V and V-I. When weight is taken into account it may be seen that there are significant differences in the division for each weight category:

		I1		I2		I3	
I - V		61		2		17	80
V - I		43		11		25	79
		104		13		42	159

$\chi^2 = 10.864$ with 2 d.f.

I1 - V

and he us rehte ealle his broðelicere and moderlicere yrmðe racu
(CH:II-147)

ac hi eadmodlice him geandetton heora digelnyssa (CH:X-134)

I2 - V

and Cuðberhtus ðam folce fægere bodade (CH:X-113)

and nanum ne onbihst (CH:XVII-078)

I3 - V

and he ðurh ðæra wealhstoda muð þam cyninge and his leode
Godes word bodade (CH:IX-194)

and geleaffullum mannum heofonan rices infær geopenode
(CH:IX-196)

V - I1

and he sealde him ða hlaf and fisc (CH:XVI-126)

and mearcode him on heafde halig rodetacn and on his guðfanan
Gode to wurðmynte (CH:XVIII-016)

V - I2

and bringe ðam fæder þæt heafod to lace (CH:VII-056)

and dælde ðone ofereacan þearfan mid estfullum mode (CH:XXI-127)

V - I3

and þæt igland eallunge rymdon ðam æðelan cempan (CH:X-168)

and forgifð undeadlicnyssse ðam þe ... (CH:XV-123)

Noteworthy is the tendency for V-I order to be adopted when the indirect object is of medium or heavy weight. Instances of I2-V are scarce, for there are at most just two examples of I-V order. One of these must ultimately be uncertain in its analysis, as it is not clear whether onbihst in CH:XVII-078 should be regarded as a ditransitive verb, and therefore whether nanum as an indirect object, or as a

direct object in the dative case. Indeed examples cited by Bosworth-Toller (for s.v. onbugan III) give no evidence for this verb being ditransitive; the clause is included here because the paucity of instances makes it desirable to include all possible instances. The presence of a negative appears to have a direct bearing on the order adopted, for while there are no examples of negative clauses with V-I order, there are 15 with I-V order including and hire nan word ne geandwyrde, CH:VIII-010. The result is somewhat surprising, as it is not obvious why a negative should influence the position of the indirect object in clauses of this type, and as it is not paralleled in SH, and the possibility of a freak result as a consequence of a relatively small sample of clauses must be considered.

In SH 105 (56%) show I-V order, which may be compared with 83 (44%) for V-I. Taking into account the weight for the indirect object:

	I1	I2	I3	
I - V	94	11	0	105
V - I	57	0	26	83
	151	11	26	188

$\chi^2 = 44.096$; one cell has an expected count of less than 5.0.

Examples include:

I1 - V

and heom fela þing sæde on his fundunge þa (SH:VIII-023)

and him ealle asæde be his godes geancyme and be his modes smeauge (SH:XXI-632)

I2 - V

and ðurh ðone se halga Fæder his halgum todæð meningfealde gyfa and micelre mihta (SH:IV-155)

V - I1

and he cwæð him þa þus to (SH:VIII-025)

Ac Crist sylf behet us on his halgan godspelle (SH:XX-382)

V - I3

and hi cenlice bodedon cyningum and ealdormannum embe þæs Hælendes fær (SH:IX-136)

and betæcð his wineard oðrum tilium syððan (SH:III-028)

The results from SH are of interest, for though the distribution of pronominal indirect objects between the two element-orders agrees well with the results from CH, the absence of any instances of heavy indirect objects before the verb is noteworthy. The absence of examples of indirect objects of medium weight occurring post-verbally might be no more than a by-product of a small sample; it is however counter-intuitive bearing in mind the placing of all heavy and a third of light indirect objects in this position. Alliterative factors probably play a part in some instances, including SH:IV-155, where halgum provides the first b-line stress, alliterating with halga in the a-line.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

The sample is of thirteen examples from CH, and 34 from SH.

In CH there are 13 examples of I-v-V, and no examples of v-I-V or v-V-I orders, and no examples of clauses with the order non-finite verb - finite verb. Examples include:

I - v - V

and efne ealle ðing eow beoð geclænsode (CH:XIX-233)

ac Crist him nolde nan ðing to gecweðan (CH:XIV-173)

In SH there are 8 examples of I-v-V, 11 of v-I-V, and 15 of v-V-I. Examples include:

I - v - V

and eow bið god forgifen (SH:XIII-013 & 106)

and eow bið forgifen (SH:XIII-103)

v - I - V

and byð þære þeode gesealde (SH:III-157)

ac we moton eow secgan be eowrum andgite (SH:XII-044)

v - V - I

and we willað geopnian eow þæt andgyt nu (SH:III-047)

and wyle swaþeah habban him sylfum softnysse (SH:XIII-060)

The range of patterns in SH may be contrasted with the existence of just one pattern in CH. Weight is not a motivation for the various patterns (thus, for example, the pronoun eow may fall before the verb phrase as in SH:XIII-013 & 106, and in SH:XIII-103, within the complex verb, as in SH:XII-044, or after the whole verb phrase, as SH:III-047. The importance of alliteration appears important in some instances, as for example SH:III-047, where geopnian forms the a-line stress, but would fall very late in the a-line were it to be preceded by eow.

The order of complement and simple verb

In CH there are 105 clauses which contain a complement and a single finite verb, all of which have the order of verb - complement. Examples include:

ac is ðæs Ælmihtigan (CH:VII-080)

and Matheus wæs tollere (CH:XVI-132)

There are two clauses which could possibly be analysed as showing a complement preceding the verb, though I believe it probable that they are passive constructions. These are:

and on godes naman gefullode wurdon wundrigende þære
bilewitnysse heora unscæððigan lifes and swetnysse heora
heofonlican lare (CH:IX-213)

and he ðærrihte mid stiðlicum fefore geond ða seofon niht þearle
gedreht wearð (CH:XI-557)

The results are somewhat different from SH. Though the order V-C predominates, accounting for 30 clauses from a sample of 38, there are eight (21%) instances of C-V order. Examples include:

C - V

and gesælige syndon þa breost(SH:IV-053 & 272)

ne hefigmod ne bið (SH:XI-559)

V - C

and þæt is swyðe god spell þurh Godes tocyne us to gehyrenne
(SH:VIII-006)

and oft he bið unscyldig on ðam dome getæht (SH:XV-132)

The infrequent occurrence of these clauses in SH compared with CH appears to indicate that Ælfric avoided this construction within his rhythmic prose, presumably because the subject matter differed. When a complement is used in a clause of this type, its position with respect to the verb shows a degree of freedom not found in CH.

The order of complement and complex verb

There are no examples from CH of complements in clauses which contain a complex verb, while in SH there are just two examples of complements in clauses of this type: and forðig is se Hælend her gecweden lareow, SH:XIII-144 and ac se weg sceal beon swiðe earfoðe us, SH:XIV-105. In the first of these clauses the subject, which is of medium weight, is placed between finite and non-finite verb, with the complement following the whole of the complex verb, while in the second the subject precedes and the complement follows the whole of the complex verb. Post-verbal position for the complement in these clauses corresponds with their post-verbal position in clauses with a simple verb. The paucity of examples of complements in clauses which contain a complex verb is noteworthy.

The order of single adverbial and finite verb

The sample is 785 clauses from CH, and 551 from SH. From CH 342 (44%) place the single adverbial after the verb. Taking adverbial weight into account:

		A1		A2		A3	
A - V		163		66		113	342
V - A		62		128		253	443
		225		194		366	785

$\chi^2 = 107.489$ with 2 d.f.

A1 - V

Ac ðæs halgan andwerdnyss eaðelice acwente þæs deofles dyderung
(CH:X-121)

and þær hi gereste (CH:XI-581)

A2 - V

and he swa ðeah abæd þæt ... (CH:XIX-278)

and ðurh mandædum hi wæron deofles bearn (CH:XIII-052)

A3 - V

and mid sleaccre stalcunge his fotswaðum filigde (CH:X-077)

and to Godes rice becomon (CH:XXI-134)

V - A1

Ac we ne magon nænne sædere Godes lare rihtlicor undergytan
(CH:VI-058)

ac we rædað þis eft (CH:XIX-254)

V - A2

ac hire anlicnys bið halig swa ðeah (CH:XVIII-055)

and sæde be endebyrdnyss ealle his gesihðe (CH:XX-246)

V - A3

and halsige on Godes naman (CH:Preface-043)

and gelæt to ðam ecan earde hofenan rices (CH:XII-422)

In SH 195 (35%) place the adverbial before the verb, and 356 (65%) after the verb. In tabular form the results are:

		A1		A2		A3	
A - V		116		49		30	195
V - A		105		48		203	356
		221		97		233	551

$\chi^2 = 89.616$ with 2 d.f.

A1 - V

ac he soðlice ne fint (SH:IV-214)

and Crist sylf ðonne bið him eallum ælc ðing (SH:XI-564)

A2 - V

and ðone hetelan deofol him fram adræfde (SH:IV-008)

and on þam hopiað (SH:XVI-264)

A3 - V

and Helias se witega eall swa lange fæste (SH:II-154)

and on sumne sæl cwæð (SH:III-096)

V - A1

and hi scinað æfre (SH:XI-570)

and þu locast þonne (SH:XIII-032)

V - A2

ac se ylca Drihten dyde þæt þurh hi (SH:VI-325)

and ealle þa witegan witegodon þurh hine (SH:VII-212)

V - A3

and Iosue hi lædde to ðam behatenan lande (SH:XX-372)

Ac Crist sylf behet us on his halgan godspelle (SH:XX-382)

In both CH and SH heavy adverbials show a strong tendency to fall post-verbally. In CH 72% of light adverbials precede the verb, though in SH this position is only occupied by 52% of light adverbials.

The order of two adverbs and the finite verb

In CH there are 105 instances of A-A-V, 42 instances of A-V-A, and

179 instances of V-A-A. Examples include:

A - A - V

ac eal þæt apostolice werod samod mid micelre anrædnysse bæd
(CH:VIII-063)

ac he hine hrædlice mid his æriste awearpe (CH:XIV-226)

A - V - A

and forwel oft hi onfoð heora edlean hraðor (CH:V-127)

and hi on ðam lande leofodon siððan (CH:XII-411)

V - A - A

and we magon clypian soðlice to Criste (CH:IV-291)

and forbær ðus eaðelice (CH:XIX-258)

In SH there are 64 instances of A-A-V, 112 instances of A-V-A, and 188 of V-A-A. Examples include:

A - A - V

and mid urum geleafan hine æfre wurþian (SH:III-184)

and ðu syððan swa miht þæs mannes yrre gestyran (SH:XIII-160)

A - V - A

and him ðus cwæð þa to (SH:XII-055)

and geond þas woruld farað mid feondlicum cræfte (SH:XVIII-389)

V - A - A

and he cwæð him þa þus to (SH:VIII-025)

ac nan mann næfð swaþeah nane mihte þurh hine sylfne
(SH:XXI-674)

CH shows a strong tendency to group two adverbials either before or after the verb, with 87% of instances occupying this position. In SH 69% of instances show this characteristic, with instances of A-A-V being the least numerous.

The order of three (or more) adverbial elements

Examples include:

(A-) V - A - A - A (-A) (CH=81;SH=98)

and we beoð æfter ðam gemænelicum dome geferode to gesihðe þæs
... (CH:IV-286)

ac hi wuniað æfre siððan ealle on singalre sibbe on ecere
staðolfæstnyse (CH:XVI-171)

Ac nan mann ne mæg on middanearde swaðeah becuman on his life
to ealre soðfæstnesse (SH:VII-203)

and sæt ða on ðam scipe gehende þam lande (SH:XIV-078)

(A-) A - V - A - A (-A) (CH=43;SH=37)

and he hi eft awende to gastlicum ðingum on his andwerdnyse
(CH:XII-459)

and he heom fram ferde swiðe fus to heofonum to his ecan myrhðe
(SH:X-076)

and heom syððan forgeaf his þa ecan sibbe on his rice mid him
(SH:X-125)

(A-) A - A - V - A (-A) (CH=35;SH=26)

And efne ða ferde an Chananeisc wif of ðam gemærum togeanes
ðam Hælende (CH:VIII-006)

and we siððan æfter ðinum weldædum bliðne ðe eft genimað to us
(CH:XX-241)

and hi ana þa hæfdon andgyt embe God (SH:III-059)

and eall þæt folc sona in ðrang him to (SH:XIII-194)

(A-) A - A - A - V (-A) (CH=19;SH=11)

and we symle syððan on ðam heofonlicum temple þurhwuniað
(CH:IV-288)

and Matheus næfre æfter his gecyrrednyse æt tollsetle ne sæt
(CH:XVI-133)

and he þa gewittig wel spræc (SH:IV-010)

and he sylf þa eft on þære eorðan awrat (SH:XIII-217)

Groups of adverbials may again be noted with the placing of three (or more) adverbials after the verb the largest single category. Examples of three (or more) adverbials before the verb are

comparatively scant, which position may be compared with the paucity of examples of two adverbials before the verb in CH.

Clause Patterns

For the order of subject, verb and direct object the following figures and examples may be presented:

S - V - O CH=258;SH=230

ac we rædað þis eft (CH:XIX-254)

and he lærde þæt folc (SH:XIV-079)

S - O - V CH=112;SH=94

and ic his word healde (CH:XIII-035)

and ge me ne scencton (SH:XI-440)

V - S - O CH=0;SH=0

V - O - S CH=0;SH=0

O - S - V CH=0;SH=19

and hyne man toberð (SH:III-069)

O - V - S CH=0;SH=15

and hi alysde Crist (SH:X-199)

Of the six theoretical patterns for the three elements subject, verb and object, two are not found (V-S-O and V-O-S) and two are found only in SH, and there are infrequent (O-S-V and O-V-S). It is apparent that in conjoined clauses with a direct object the order of subject - verb is usual, and that S-V-O is by far the most common form, accounting for 69% of instances from CH, and 67% from SH. Instances from SH of O-S-V and O-V-S show pronominal direct objects.

Results for patterns of indirect object with subject and verb are as follows:

S - V - I CH=27;SH=60

and he sylð eow mede (CH:XIX-218)

Ac Crist sylf behet us on his halgan godspelle (SH:XX-382)

S - I - V CH=38;SH=25

ac hi eadmodlice him geandetton heora digelnyssa (CH:X-134)

and he heom þus sæde (SH:X-134)

V - S - I CH=0;SH=0

V - I - S CH=0;SH=0

I - S - V CH=26;SH=7

and hire nan word ne geandwyrde (CH:VIII-010)

I - V - S CH=0;SH=0

Only three of the six theoretical patterns are found. The forms V-S-I and V-I-S are unattested (as is the case for V-S-0 and V-0-S). In CH S-I-V is the most common pattern, while in SH this position is occupied by S-V-I. The pattern I-S-V is more frequent in CH than SH. It appears that there are differences in the positioning of the indirect object between the two prose types.

Results for the position of the complement relative to both subject and verb are as follows:

S - V - C CH=51;SH=90

ac hi ne sind na ealle of godspellum genumene
(CH:Preface-038)

and þæt is seo gelaðung (SH:XIV-087)

S - C - V CH=0;SH=8

and þa manfullan Iudei swa drystige wæron (SH:III-127)

V - S - C CH=0;SH=23

and bið his ende wyrse (SH:XIII-234)

V - C - S CH=0;SH=0

C - S - V CH=0;SH=0

C - V - S CH=0;SH=2

and gesælige syndon þa breost(SH:IV-053 & IV-272)

Within CH, complements are found only in the pattern S-V-C. In SH some flexibility may be observed, for though S-V-C is most common, V-S-C is well represented, and S-C-V and C-V-S are encountered. It appears that SH shows greater freedom in this area.

Examples and figures for verb final and verb not final are as follows:

Verb final CH=562;SH=379

and ðæs lifes word lythwon gymdon (CH:X-123)

and Nichodemus þa on his nytennyse cwæð (SH:XII-074)

Verb not final CH=1207;SH=1171

and we underfoð þone pening (CH:V-161)

and heofonan mihta beoð þonne astyrode (SH:XVIII-402)

In percentage terms, verb final constitutes 32% of CH and 24% of SH. This may be contrasted with 31% and 21% respectively in non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses without an initial adverbial, and 41% and 40% respectively in clauses with an initial adverbial. These figures indicate no increase in verb final in conjoined clauses (as compared with non-conjoined clauses without an initial adverbial). However conjoined clauses do show a tendency towards postponing the verb, which is most clearly shown when the proportions of S-O-V to S-V-O order are compared. In CH in non-conjoined clauses the ratio is 98:455, while in conjoined clauses the ratio is 112:258. Comparable figures for SH are 42:334 for non-conjoined clauses, and 94:230 for conjoined. This postponing of the verb is not verb final in the strict sense of the verb falling as the last element within the clause, but it may be regarded as a remnant of this phenomenon, and is visible in the increased frequency of both direct and indirect objects before the verb. It is interesting that there is no comparable tendency towards placing the

complement before the verb.

Conclusion

Certain tendencies in element-order may be observed among the conjoined declarative clauses.

Subjects usually precede the finite verb in clauses with both simple and complex verbs, with weight playing an important rôle in explaining the distribution. In this respect the similarity between conjoined and non-conjoined declaratives is marked.

Direct objects in clauses with a simple verb may fall either before or after the verb. There is some correlation with their weight, though the overall impression is one of relatively free element-order, frequently subject to change as a response to stylistic requirements. In clauses with a complex verb the placing of the direct object before the verb is attested, though rare; the usual position is after the finite verb. Examining the direct object in conjunction with both the elements subject and verb it may be seen that V-S-O and V-O-S are not found, while O-S-V and O-V-S are infrequent, both attested only in SH. The common clause patterns are S-V-O and S-O-V. The position of indirect objects relative to the simple verb is to a large extent explicable in terms of the weight of the indirect object. In complex verb phrases the indirect object precedes both parts of the verb in all such clauses in CH, but in SH is more frequently found within or after the complex verb. A comparable difference is found in the position of complements. In CH complements consistently follow the verb, while in SH examples of C-V may be found alongside V-C. In both these areas of element order SH exhibits a degree of freedom which is not found in CH. The constraints of the rhythmic and alliterative style of SH encouraged a freer element-order for indirect objects and complements.

Adverbials, though exhibiting a marked degree of freedom in their position, do show the influence of considerations of weight. Light adverbials tend to precede the verb; heavy adverbials tend to follow.

There are differences in detail between CH and SH in conjoined clauses, particularly a greater degree of freedom observed in SH. However, as for the non-conjoined clauses, the essential similarity of the two prose types should be stressed.

2.3 IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

In contrast to the declarative and conjoined declarative clauses discussed above, imperative clauses occur relatively infrequently. They are more common in CH than SH, with 272 instances from CH, and 112 from SH. It may be presumed that this difference is as a result of the different styles of the two prose types, though this is an area which is poorly understood. Millward (1971, p. 13) points out "The frequency of imperative constructions varies greatly from one work to another ... some homiletic works contain many imperative constructions, others very few ... Beowulf has many imperatives, the poetic Exodus almost none". Many of these clauses offer little material for a discussion of element-order, for few contain a subject, while complex verbs are not common. Imperatives with and without an initial conjunction have generally been treated together within this section, for as there are few instances which contain a subject their element-order is generally unchanged by the presence of an initial conjunction.

Identification of imperative clauses is made by a combination of morphological and contextual features. Morphologically discrete forms for the imperative are found for the second person singular of all strong and weak verbs except for beon, don, gan and witan, and such clauses may be identified with confidence. The second person plural of imperative clauses however is usually -aþ, morphologically identical with the present indicative plural. Extra-morphological considerations must be taken into account in order to identify clauses with their finite verb in -aþ as imperatives. In general this type of imperative has a non-expressed subject ge, though the subject pronoun may on occasions be found. Context must be considered in classifying such clauses. A helpful table for the identification of imperative clauses is found in Mitchell (1985, I, pp.

372-3); Millward (1971) must be treated with care in that she tends to confuse imperative and subjunctive forms.

Imperative clauses may consist only of a finite verb, of which 27 examples have been found in Ælfric, as for example Doð, CH:IV-261. The finite verb may be preceded by a conjunction, as for example and blissað, CH:VII-058. The imperative may be preceded by a vocative construction, which in effect establishes the subject, as for example Min Drihten, miltsa him, CH:II-183. This is one of the most frequent uses of the vocative.

When a subject is present, the order is subject - verb for non-conjoined imperatives, and usually verb - subject for conjoined imperatives, and clauses with an initial adverbial (including a negative particle). Examples include:

and on Samaritaniscra burgum ne becume ge (CH:VIII-048)

Ne ðeowige ge to anyne ac mid anfealdne heortan (CH:XIX-218)

Ðu soðlice cyð þine gesihðe on middanearde (CH:XX-188)

Ne ofslih ðu mannum (SH:XV-127)

ne gelyfe ge þæs (SH:XVIII-378)

Exceptions may be found, as for example and ðu ne beo gewæht, CH:XIX-249, where the order is subject - verb though the clause is conjoined.

Direct objects usually follow the verb. In CH there are 148 (85%) instances of V-O, and 27 (15%) of O-V, while in SH there are 35 (70%) instances of V-O and 15 (30%) of O-V. Examples of V-O include:

Wurpað eower net on ða swiðran healfe þæs rewettes (CH:XVI-115)

Ðu soðlice cyð þine gesihðe on middanearde (CH:XX-188)

Lege þas twa beboda to þam twam læs feowertigum þæs langsuman legeres þæs laman bedryddan (SH:II-146)

ne gelyfe ge þæs (SH:XVIII-378)

Examples of O-V include:

and ge nænne mann ne ofbeatað (CH:III-043)

and nan ðing ðe ne geahnige buton bigleofan and scrude
(CH:XX-196)

No correlation may be found between the weight of the direct object and its position relative to the finite verb.

Indirect objects are most frequently found after the verb. In CH there are 47 (63%) instances of V-I, and 28 (37%) of I-V. Comparable figures for SH are eight (80%) of V-I, and two (20%) of I-V. Examples of V-I include:

Drihten min, ne sete þu him ðas dæda to synne (CH:II-185)

Wyrcað eow freonda of ðam unrihtan welan (SH:XVI-259)

Examples of I-V include:

and nan ðing ðe ne geahnige butin bigleofan and scrude
(CH:XX-196)

Complements always occur post-verbally. There are 12 instances from CH and 19 from SH. Examples include:

Ealswa ge ðeowan beoð gehyrsume eowerum hlafordum (CH:XIX-216)

Drihten, beo min gemyndig (CH:V-134)

Certain general features concerning the nature of element-order in imperative clauses are revealed in the Ælfric sample. Thus when the subject is present the order corresponds with the declaratives in showing subject - verb when non-conjoined, and verb - subject when conjoined, or when introduced by an initial adverbial or negative particle. Direct objects most often precede the verb, though there are exceptions which may not be explained in terms of weight, while indirect objects generally follow the verb. Complements follow the verb; in this sample this appears as a rule. It is apparent that an extended study of imperative clauses based upon a far larger

sample is necessary if a clear understanding of their element-order is to be obtained. As far as the limited set of results can show, it appears that the behaviour of imperative clauses is broadly similar to that of declarative clauses.

2.4 INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES2.4.0 Introduction

Interrogative clauses are subject to strict rules of element-order, which require that material concerning them should be arranged in a manner different to that employed elsewhere in this thesis. In interrogative clauses hw- forms or phrases including hw- forms, (for example hwæt, hwilc, hwær, on hwæs, hwi, hwænne, hwider, hwilcne) occupy initial position, unless preceded by one of three elements which are not in a full sense members of the clause: a sentential adverbial (for instance eornostlice, CH:II-138), a vocative phrase (as for example CH:XVI-114) or an interjection (as for example CH:I-249). In addition, in all x-questions the finite verb precedes the subject, unless the subject is the hw- form. When the hw- form is the subject, or the question is introduced by hwæðer, the element-order is as a rule subject - verb. It follows that the weight of the subject is not a relevant consideration in interrogative clauses, as its position is grammatically determined. There are no differences between CH and SH in the element-order of interrogative clauses, and as a consequence it is appropriate to take the two together.

Appropriate categories for discussion of interrogative clauses are those which display different types of element-order. These are nexus questions, sub-divided into those with and those without introductory hwæðer, the latter rare in the Ælfric corpus, and x-questions, sub-divided into those in which the hw- form is the subject, and those in which the hw- form is not the subject.

Among the interrogatives is the form Hwi swa?, CH:VII-084, which could be regarded as a clause from which the verb has been omitted, but is probably better analysed as an interrogative interjection. It has been excluded from the figures presented below.

2.4.1 Nexus questions without hwæðer

The sample is 37 clauses, nine from CH and 26 from SH.

The subject almost always follows the finite verb. This corresponds with the findings of Mitchell (1985, §3895) who states "As in MnE, non-dependent nexus questions (both positive and negative) usually have VS or vSV". Examples include Wylt þu beon hal?, SH:II-032, and La hu næfð se dæg twelf tida on him?, SH:VI-025. Negative interrogative clauses retain verb-subject order, for example Ne sæde ic eow on ær þæt ...?, CH:XI-083. In clauses with complex verbs, the non-finite verb is found following the subject, as for example La hu ne mot ic don þæt ...?, CH:V-171. However subject - verb order is found in and þu eft nu wylt þyder ongearan faran, SH:VI-023. In this example it may be that alliterative requirements provide at least a partial explanation. However it may be that the example represents an alternative manner of expressing a nexus question, and would have been read with a rising intonation to indicate the question, in contrast with falling intonation which presumably was the custom in declaratives.

The direct object always follows both finite verb and subject (the total sample is 26 clauses). Examples include:

Hwæt la, ætbræd ic ðe þinne sunu? (CH:XI-473)

gelyfst þu þis Martha? (SH:VI-061)

Direct objects may either precede non-finite verbs (eight instances) or follow them (five instances). No correlation may be discerned between the weight of the direct object and its position with respect to the non-finite verb, which in all instances is an infinitive.

Indirect objects in clauses of this type are represented by two

examples from CH and one from SH:

Ne sæde ic eow on ær þæt ...? (CH:XI-083)

Hwæt la ætbræd ic ðe þinne sunu? (CH:XI-473)

La hu ne sæde ic þe þæt ...? (SH:VI-089)

In these three examples the indirect object follows both subject and finite verb; there are no examples of indirect objects in clauses with complex verbs. In these three clauses the indirect object precedes the direct object, though in two of these instances the direct object is in the form of a subsequent clause, and is therefore unlikely to occupy any but the final position within a clause. Example CH:XI-473 places the two objects in order of increasing weight.

A complement is found in only one clause, Eart ðu ana ælðeodig mann on Hierusalem?, CH:XVI-010, where the complement follows both subject and finite verb.

The usual order of elements within clauses of this type may be set out as subject followed by finite verb followed by other elements. The sample is not sufficiently large to offer an extended description of the relative order of the non-finite verb, objects and complement, though there is some scant evidence to suggest that objects fall in order of increasing weight. It is particularly noteworthy that the adverbial element, usually relatively free in its position, in all instances falls after the finite verb, and usually in the final position within the clause.

2.4.2 Nexus questions with hwæðer

This category is represented by just one clause, hwæper þu mage tocnawan hwæs fotlæsta þu geseo on þissere flore astapene?, SH:XXI-419. The order is subject, finite verb, non-finite verb (infinitive), direct object.

2.4.3 X-questions with hw- form subject

The sample is 24 clauses, 14 from CH and 10 from SH. In all cases the subject is followed directly by the finite verb (or by negative particle plus finite verb). Examples include:

Hwæt wæs on ðæra blissigendra heortan? (CH:II-168)

Hwa is ure nexta? (CH:XIX-063)

Hwa nele nu efstan to ðære ecan blisse fram þyssere earfoðnysse
 ðe we on wuniað fram deofles hæftnyssum to þam arfæstan Drihtne?
 (SH:XI-157)

Direct objects are attested in nine clauses. Their position with respect to the non-finite verb varies: a direct object may precede the non-finite verb, as for instance Hwa wolde me æfre gelyfan?, CH:VI-037, or may follow the non-finite verb, as for instance Hwa mæg æfre ealle gereccan þa mihtigan tacna ðises halgan weres?, CH:X-304. The weight of the direct object appears to influence this order, with heavy direct objects tending to follow the non-finite verb while light direct objects precede. The sample is not large enough to explore this tendency.

An indirect object occurs in just one clause, Hwa sylð us flæscmete?, SH:XX-085, where the indirect object falls directly after the finite verb and before the direct object. The order of the objects may well be determined by the respective weights of the two objects, which are frequently found in order of ascending weight.

The complement directly follows the finite verb in all of a sample of four clauses, as for example Hwæt is swa idellic oððe swa untrumlic swa swa þæt man fordeme þone soþan Deman and þone gebind þe unbint eall mancynn and þone wylle ofslean þe ure synna forgyfð and þa deadan arærde þurh his drihtenlican mihte?, SH:VII-103. There are

no examples of clauses with both a complement and a direct object which would permit discussion of the relative position of these two elements.

Of the 16 clauses with one or more adverbial element, eleven place the adverbial or adverbial group at the end of the clause, as for example hwilc wundor is þeah þe to life arise an mann þurh hyne þonne ælce dæge beoð manega acennede þurh hys mihte on worulde?, SH:VI-119. Adverbials which are not final may be followed by a heavy direct object, as for example Hwa mæg on worulde ealle ða wundra gereccan?, CH:XI-585, or a vocative, as in the clause Hwær syndon nu, la wif, þa þe ...?, SH:XIII-222.

2.4.4 X-questions in which the hw- form is not the subject

The hw- form is in all cases immediately followed by the finite verb (the sample is 72 clauses). Examples include:

hwæt dest ðu niwes nu? (CH:XVIII-086)

Hwi come þu swa late? (SH:VIII-143)

The subject (in all but three instances from a sample of 70 clauses) occurs immediately after the finite verb (as exemplified by the two clauses above). The exceptions are:

Hwæs beoð þonne þine teolunga? (CH:VII-098)

Hwi wolde æfre geðafian se Ælmihtiga Wealdend? (CH:XIV-139)

Hwi is ðonne þæt halige husel gecweden Cristes lichama oþþe his blod? (CH:XV-100)

In the second instance the intervening elements are a one-word adverbial and a non-finite verb, in the first and third a one-word adverbial. It is probably significant that in both examples the subject

is of heavy weight.

Objects, both direct and indirect, and complements, when they are not the hw- form, are placed after the subject. Examples include:

hwilcne wyrst thu the sylfne? (CH:XIII-169)

hwanon hæfst þu liflice wæter? (SH:V-022)

There is just one instance of a clause with two objects both occurring post-verbally: hwi wolde ge me þas þing gebeodan?, CH:XI-082, where the objects fall in order of increasing weight.

Non-finite verbs occur in 16 clauses. In ten instances they occupy final position within the clause, for example:

Hwæt hæfst þu gedon? (CH:XI-507)

Hwæt mæg ic la nu don ...? (SH:XVI-100)

Those which are not in final position may be followed by an adverbial (three instances), as for example Hwa is lif buton Crist?, or a subject (one instance), Hwi wolde æfre geðafian se Ælmihtiga Wealdend?, CH:XIV-139.

One or more adverbial elements are found in 24 clauses. Of these 18 place the adverbial or adverbial group in the final position within the clause, for example:

hwænne gesawe we ðe hungrinne oððe þurstigne? (SH:XI-445)

hwæt sægest þu us nu be swylcere dæde? (SH:XIII-205)

2.4.5 Conclusion

The element-order for the four types of interrogative clauses may be stated as follows:

Nexus questions without hwæðer have in first position the finite verb (preceded only by a negative particle or exclamation), in second position the subject, and in third position any other element. The paucity of examples with two or more elements in third position prevents a thorough treatment of the order of these elements, though the tendency for adverbials to fall in final position within the clause is marked.

Nexus questions with hwæðer on the basis of the one clause which falls within this category appear to show the subject in first position (following hwæðer), the finite verb in second position, and other elements in third position.

X-questions with hw- form subjects place the hw- form initially in the clause, the finite verb second, and other elements third. There is a tendency for the adverbial to be final in the clause.

X-questions in which the hw- form is not the subject place the hw- form initial in the clause, the finite verb second, and other elements in third position. The subject usually occurs immediately after the finite verb. There is a tendency for the adverbial to be final in the clause.

The existence of rigid rules for the positioning of some elements within these four types of interrogatives may be contrasted with the comparative freedom of element-order in all other clause types. In the case of nexus questions without hwæðer, the one group not introduced by a question word, element-order in the form of the inversion of subject and verb is the only non-contextual indicator that the clause is interrogative, and the fixed element-order is therefore functional. A similar motivation cannot be advanced as an explanation for the fixed element-order of the three other interrogative clause types.

2.5 OPTATIVE CLAUSESIntroductory

Optative clauses are rare in the Old English corpus, most examples deriving from homiletic material. The sample analysed in this thesis shows 59, 40 from CH and 19 from SH. The clauses as used by Ælfric for the most part divide into two groups, those with uton, and those with si; other optative forms are possible within Old English, as for example He onhebbe hine nan mann on his weorcum ne on langsumum ðeowdome, CH:V-175, and ac beo him gesæd ... ða teortan witu, CH:XX-222.

The uton clauses display little flexibility in the order of their elements. The form uton introduces the clause, unless preceded by ac, as for instance ac uton biddan ealle urne Drihten Crist (SH:VI-370) or a vocative, as Mine gebroðru, uton behealdan þone ahangenan Crist (CH:XIII-277). A nominal subject is usually omitted, presumably as the verb leaves no doubt as to person and number. When it is expressed, the subject directly follows the verb uton, as Uton we eac faran (SH:VI-039). Save for the subject, the non-finite verb or verbs generally follows directly uton, as for example Uton beon gemyndige hwæt ... (CH:II-213). Most direct objects follow the whole verb, as Vton nu gehyran þæs Hælendes læcedom (SH:XV-188), though some, particularly those which are light, are placed between the finite and non-finite verbs, as uton hine ofslean (SH:III-021). Adverbial position exhibits a marked degree of freedom, with adverbials occurring between the finite and non-finite verbs, as Uton we eac faran (SH:VI-039), or after the non-finite verb, as Uton faran nu eft to Iudea lande (SH:VI-020). It seems likely that weight is at least one of the factors influencing adverbial position, though the sample is not large enough to analyse this in a satisfactory manner.

The si clauses are found chiefly within the doxology, where the forms þam si and si him are exclusively used to introduce such clauses; subsequent element-order is flexible, though there is a strong tendency for the subject to fall directly after the finite verb. The examples are:

Sy him wuldor and lof a on ecnysse AMEN (CH:II-217)

þam sy wuldor and wurðmynt A on ecnysse Amen (CH:VIII-130)

Sy lof ðam Ælmihtigan (CH:X-110)

Sy wuldor and lof þam welegan Drihtne (CH:X-339)

Sy Him wuldor and lof A on ecnysse mid eallum His halgum (CH:XI-587)

Sy Him wuldor and lof a to worulde amen (CH:XII-582)

Sy him lof and wuldor his ormætā eadmodnysse on ealra worulda woruld amen (CH:XIII-295)

Sy he ahangen on healicere rode (CH:XIV-190)

Sy him a wuldor mid his Heofonlican Fæder and ðam Halgan Gaste on anre Godcundnysse on ecere worulde amen (CH:XIV-355)

Sy him wuldor and lof þære weldæde on ealra worulda woruld amen (CH:XV-336)

Sy ðam Ælmihtigan lof (CH:XVIII-155)

ne his lic ne sy on halgre stowe bebyriged (CH:XX-221)

Sy wuldor and lof ðam welwillendum Gode A on ecnysse amen (CH:XXI-136)

þam sy wuldor on ecnysse mid his Ælmihtigan Fæder and þam Halgan Gaste on anre Godcundnysse AMEN (SH:II-290)

þam si wuldor and lof on ecere worulde amen (SH:III-187)

Si him wuldor and lof a to worulde amen (SH:V-290)

þam si wuldor and lof a to worulde amen (SH:VI-373)

þam sy a wuldor mid þam Halgan Gaste on ecnysse AMEN (SH:X-210)

þam sy a wuldor on ecnysse amen (SH:XVI-237)

þam sy wuldor and lof a to worulde AMEN (SH:XXI-676)

Note in particular the variation in element-order between CH:X-110

and CH:XVIII-155. I suspect that the second is the rogue example, in that it places a dative phrase between the optative verb and the subject (in contrast to the usual position of a dative phrase after the subject, as for instance in CH:X-339). There is no obvious stylistic motivation for the order of CH:XVIII-155; rather it serves as an example of the flexibility of element-order in optative clauses of this type.

2.6 CONCLUSION

Distinct element-order patterns exist for the most numerous divisions of declarative and exclamative clauses: non-conjoined clauses without an initial adverbial, non-conjoined clauses with an initial adverbial, and conjoined clauses. There is no value in attempting to combine these results, for they represent distinct environments from the point of view of element-order. The samples of imperative, interrogative and optative clauses are small. As far as the evidence allows it appears that imperative clauses are similar in element-order to non-conjoined declarative clauses. Interrogative clauses are a special category so far as element-order is concerned, in that they obey rules rather than exhibiting tendencies.

CHAPTER THREE
DEPENDENT CLAUSES

Dependent clauses are considered within the three categories of nominal clauses (3.1), adjectival clauses (3.2) and adverbial clauses (3.3), the latter subdivided into seven categories. Conclusions are offered to sections 3.1 and 3.2, and brief conclusions to each of the adverbial clause categories; a short conclusion for this chapter is presented in section 3.4.

3.1 - NOMINAL CLAUSES

The sample from CH comprises 458 clauses; from SH 353.

Nominal clauses fall into two main divisions (Mitchell 1985, §1937), and may be distinguished by their head-words. Those introduced by the conjunction þæt are the most numerous. There is a potential ambiguity between conjunction þæt and demonstrative þæt, the latter serving to introduce an adjectival clause; similarly þæt may introduce a parenthetical clause (as for example Þone wineard he behegode, þæt is Israhela folc, SH:III-081), or an adverbial clause of result; context generally makes the distinction clear. An example such as hwi sceal he ðonne him anum geagnian þæt him bam is forgifen?, CH:VII-071, where þæt introduces a nominal relative clause has been analysed as nominal. The conjunction þæt may on occasions be absent. Other conjunctions are not common, and may be ambiguous; I consider that swilce introduces a nominal clause in Pu hiwast swilce þu ðinum cildum hit sparige, CH:VII-085, and ðeah in Hwilc wundor wæs ðeah se Halga wer ealne middaneard ætforan him gesawe, CH:XI-540. Mitchell offers a discussion of nominal clauses introduced by conjunctions other than þæt (§§1957-1961), in which these specific clauses are mentioned. Nominal clauses may be introduced by an interrogative or exclamative word. Well represented in Ælfric is hu; hwæt is also found. Some clauses introduced by hu and hwæt are potentially ambiguous in interpretation; they may be nominal clauses which are indirect questions, or main clauses which are direct questions. The ambiguity may generally be resolved by the context.

The order of subject and simple verb

The sample from CH is of 191 clauses. Of these, 187 show S-V order, and four the order V-S. Similar results may be obtained from CH,

where a sample of 225 produces 220 examples of S-V, and five of V-S. Examples of S-V order from both prose types include:

þæt Drihten hine sylfne gemedemode (CH:IV-25)

þæt he his lichaman up ða gelogode on ðam endlyftan geare his geendunge (CH:X-334)

þæt he arist on þam æriste on þam endenextan dæge (SH:VI-056)

þæt he wissode mancynne (SH:XIV-015)

The examples of V-S order are:

þæt becomon ðicce ðeostru and egeslice ofer eallum Egypta lande (CH:XII-074)

þæt on ælcum huse ealra ðære ðeode on anre nihte læg an dead mann (CH:XII-078)

þæt on ðisum easterlicum dæge eodon twegen Drihtnes leorningcnihtas to anre byrig (CH:XVI-003)

þæt us is twyfeald need on boclican gewritum (CH:XVI-055)

þæt on Hierusalem si seo stow (SH:V-42)

þæt se mann ðe tallic word cwyð ongear ðone Halgan Gast ... næfð he his næfre forgyfenysse (SH:VI-218)

þæt si eaðre to betenne þa yfelan geþohtas (SH:XV-099)

þæt on þam yfelan timan arist seo unrihtwisnyss (SH:XVIII-331)

þæt þar wæs musa wunung (SH:XXI-554)

The order of subject - verb clearly predominates for both rhythmic and non-rhythmic material, and as has been established, throughout the Old English corpus. Thus, for instance, McKnight (1897) in a survey of 82 nominal clauses from the Laws of Alfred found just one instance of inversion, and this result has been confirmed by subsequent studies.

The nine examples from the two prose types of verb - subject order clearly require explanation. One is doubtful in classification: þæt si eaðre to betenne þa yfelan geþohtas, SH:XV-099, could be

analysed as showing a complement in a clause with zero subject; alternatively as here interpreted it may be that the infinitival phrase to betenne þa yfelan gēpohtas should be regarded as the subject. As Old English rarely employs an infinitive as a preverbal subject (Mitchell 1985, §§1537-1539) it is wholly appropriate that in this instance the subject should follow the verb. Clause SH:VI-218 is also a special case in that the subject is repeated: the clause begins with se mann, is interrupted by a relative clause, and effectively begins again with næfð he, with he a resumptive pronoun coreferential with se mann. The order V-S is characteristic of a negative independent clause; it seems that the element-order has broken free of the usual constraints of a nominal clause. Six of the nine examples (CH:XII-078, CH:XVI-003, CH:XVI-055, SH:V-042, SH:XVIII-331 and SH:XXI-554) have an element other than subject or verb immediately following þæt, and it may well be that as is the case for independent clauses the fronting of an element has promoted V-S order in the pattern X-V-S. A general tendency to favour the order of topic before comment may be significant in explaining SH:XXI-554, where the topic þar is followed by the comment musa wunung. However musa wunung is the first of a series of conjoined elements, and it may be that weight played a part. A special emphasis may be discerned in SH:V-042, where a contrast is established between on Hierusalem and on þysum munte; similarly emphasis is surely the intention in delaying the dramatic subject of CH:XII-078. Considerations of weight are of importance: the presence of particularly heavy subjects may explain the inverted order of CH:XII-074 and CH:XVI-003; similarly in CH:XVI-055 the light object us comes before the verb, and the heavy subject after. The final example, SH:XVIII-331, may possibly be explained as a syntactical gloss of the Latin which Ælfric quotes:

Quia abundabit iniquitas, refrigescet caritas multorum,
 þæt is, on Engliscum gereorde, þæt on þam yfelan timan
 arist seo unrihtwisnyss (SH:XVIII-330/332)

The order of verb before subject is shown in refrigescet caritas, though it must be noted that Ælfric's translation is free, combining the two clauses of the Vulgate as one nominal clause. Possibly the placing of arist initial in the line, and therefore in an emphasised position, suited Ælfric as a stylistic measure.

The order of subject and complex verb

When complex verbs are considered a remarkably uniform pattern emerges. In both rhythmic and non-rhythmic prose the subject is found before the whole of the verb. The sample from CH is 101 clauses, with 72 examples of S-v-V and 29 of S-V-v; from SH 61 examples, 45 of S-v-V, 15 of S-V-v, and one with a discontinuous subject. Examples include:

S - v - V

þæt hi woldon his lare gehyran (CH:XVII-077)

þæt se snotera sceal suwian (CH:XX-150)

þæt hi hinne ænne æfre wurþian sceoldon mid halgum biggencgum (SH:III-055)

þæt seo heofon sona sceolde afeallan (SH:XXI-540)

S - V - v

þæt we eow be fullum andgite hi geopenian magon (CH:XII-004)

þæt hit swa gedon sy (CH:XV-158)

þæt he hundeahtatig him agifan sceolde (SH:XVI-028 & XVI-145)

þæt he cunnian moste (SH:XXI-442)

There is just one partial exception to the order of subject before the whole of the verb phrase in the clause þæt ure Hælende Crist ... þa wolde he faran on sumne symbeldæg soþlice to Hierusalem, SH:II-007. Here the subject is discontinuous, the pronoun þe reiterating ure

Hælende Crist. The requirements of rhythm may have played a part in delaying the pronominal subject in the line lichamlice wunigende þa wolde he faran, SH:II-008. The clause is akin to SH:VI-218 (discussed above) in that the resumed clause, severed from the conjunction þæt, behaves as if it were an independent clause with an initial adverbial, showing the V-S order characteristic of such clauses.

The order of direct object and single finite verb

The sample from CH is of 86 clauses, and from SH of 90. In CH 49 (54%) have O-V order, and 37 (46%) V-O. The distribution may be explained in part in terms of the weight of the direct object:

		01		02		03		
O - V		13		14		22		49
V - O		0		12		25		37
		13		26		47		86

$\chi^2 = 11.903$ with 2 d.f.

Examples include:

01 - V

þæt God þurh his engel hine geneosode (CH:X-045)

þæt ic ðe lufige (CH:XVI-177)

02 - V

þæt he deofol on him næfde (CH:XIII-102)

þæt he renas forgeaf (CH:XIX-280)

03 - V

þæt he angelcynne sume lareowas asende (CH:IX-082)

þæt he minne dæg gesawe (CH:XIII-184)

V - 02

þæt he ondrede God (CH:XVIII-079)

þæt ða Iudei læddon Crist æt sumum sæle to anum clife
(CH:XIII-232)

V - 03

þæt þis godspel hæfð langne tige on his trahtnunge (CH:V-35)

þæt he lufige þone lifigendon God (CH:XIX-027)

It may be seen that when the direct object is a pronoun, it falls before the verb in all instances. When it is an object of medium or heavy weight the division is approximately equal, though with slightly more instances of medium weight occurring before the verb, and of heavy weight occurring after. The clause hu micelne teonan he forðyldegode mid ðam foresædum mynecum, CH:XI-339, is an example of grammatically determined direct object - verb order, for hu must be initial, and hu forms part of the direct object phrase. The element-order is an automatic consequence of the presence of hu; it is not a result of a choice of one element-order over another.

Of the 90 clauses in SH, 45 (50%) show O-V order, and 45 (50%) V-O. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the object the results are as follows:

		01		02		03		
O - V		15		14		16		45
V - O		3		18		24		45
		17		32		40		90

$\chi^2 = 12.417$ with 2 d.f.

Examples include:

01 - V

þæt hine God swa forlæt (SH:X-054)

hu he hine forseah (SH:XX-410)

02 - V

þæt he menn gesceope (SH:VI-124)

þæt ic þæt mot ateo of ðinum eagan nu (SH:XIII-028 and 150)

03 - V

þæt we Cristenum cyninge oððe Cristenum folce Godes beboda and Godes willan secgan (SH:XVIII-187)

þæt heo mid twam handum þa twegan weallas geræhte (SH:XXI-534)

V - 01

þæt He arærde hi eft of deaðe (SH:VI-125)

þæt hy underfengon hine eft syððan into heora husum (SH:XVI-147)

þæt hi wurpodon him for godas (SH:XXI-082)

V - 02

þæt min wineard bære me wæstmas (SH:III-065)

þæt he wissode mancynne (SH:XIV-015 and 080)

V - 03

þæt nan mann ne gesyhþ Godes rice æfre (SH:XII-008)

þæt he cuðe þa gastlican acennednysse (SH:XII-142)

The distribution from SH is similar to that observed in CH, save that in the rhythmic material the order of pronominal direct object after the verb is attested. This may be explained in the first instance as a stylistic device, and in the second as a response to the requirements of the alliterative scheme. Example SH:VI-125 from the line and eac þæt He arærde hi eft of deaðe turns on the verb arærde, which is framed by the pronouns He and hi, and by the adverbials eac and eft of deathe. A rhetorical distance is created between the subject He and the object hi, linked by the concept of resurrection. Example SH:XVI-147 reflects alliterative needs; line 148 is hine eft syððan into heora husum, requiring hine in the a-line to alliterate with heora (and perhaps also husum) in the b-line.

The order of direct object and complex verb

This category is represented by 47 clauses from CH, and 25 from SH. As the distribution is similar in the two prose types the examples may be presented together, though figures are given separately for each.

O - v - V (CH=0;SH=2)

þæt þa ehteras of heora gemotum hi woldon geutlagian (SH:IX-179)

þæt he hit sceole ðicgan (SH:XI-179)

v - O - V (CH=29;SH=9)

þæt he nolde hine næfre wiðsacan (CH:XIV-076)

þæt he wolde hine beswingan (CH:XIV-181)

þæt ure Drihten sceolde þa wundra wyrcan on þæs deofles mihte (SH:IV-012)

þæt we sceoldon geornlice us warnian wið ða yfelan ceorunge (SH:XX-392)

v - V - O (CH=8;SH=12)

þæt he wolde beran drincan his gebroðrum (CH:XI-435)

þæt we sceolon habban þæt ece lif (CH:XIII-283)

þæt he mæg onlihtan þæs mannes mod (SH:XII-151)

þæt hy sceolon ageldan us eft þæt gemet (SH:XIII-114)

O - V - v (CH=10;SH=2)

þæt we eow be fullum andgite hi geopenian magon (CH:XII-004)

þæt hi ðone Hælende habban woldon (CH:XIV-089)

þæt he hundeahtatig him agifan sceolde (SH:XVI-028 and XVI-145)

The pattern from CH is reasonably clear. The direct object is most frequently found between the finite and non-finite verb, where it is usually light (though not invariably so, as is shown by a clause such as þæt he moste Drihtnes lic bebyrian, CH:XIV-337). When the direct object is found after all parts of the complex verb it is of medium or

heavy weight - in the examples above his gebroðrum (medium), þæt ece lif (heavy) and swa miccles hades (heavy). Noteworthy are the ten direct objects of varying weight which come before the whole of the complex verb. Some examples are capable of an explanation in terms of emphasis, as perhaps CH:XIV-089 (above), or a direct object in a clause such as þæt he heora abbud beon sceolde, (CH:XI-063), though such an explanation becomes tenuous in a case such as CH:XII-004 (above), where the direct object is a pronoun, with no apparent reason for it to be emphasised. The placing of a direct object before the whole of the complex verb was a frequent position in early Germanic languages, as in modern German, and might reasonably be expected within early Old English. Their use in Ælfric may be seen as stylistically conservative, perhaps intended to lend gravity to the clauses concerned.

The results from SH are broadly similar, save that instances of O-V-v are rare. Direct objects which fall between finite and non-finite verbs are usually light, those falling after the whole of the complex verb heavy. The one clause (two instances) of the order O-V-v may be explained on alliterative grounds, for the clause constitutes one line of the rhythmic prose, and the observed order avoids end-stress alliteration. Noteworthy are two instances of O-v-V. Of these, clause SH:IX-179 is split between two lines, the first of which fails to alliterate (unless ehteras and heora are considered alliterative):

and cwæð þæt þa ehteras of heora gemotum
hi woldon geutlagian and mid ealle adræfan

It might be suggested that here both form and strict syntactic accuracy have been sacrificed in the first line in order to enable a parallel to be drawn between the two virtually synonymous verbs in the following line. The second example, SH:XI-179, shows the pronoun hit before the complex verb. It is probably best regarded as the

retention of the early Germanic order.

The order of indirect object and simple verb

The sample from CH is 17 clauses; from SH 22 clauses. From CH 16 (94%) have I-V order, and one (6%) V-I. Examples of I-V include:

hwæt he gefyrn Angelcynne gemynte (CH:IX-165)

þæt him lareowas secgon ða godspellican lare (CH:XIX-001)

The order V-I is attested only once, in the clause þæt he æteowode anum twynigendum wife embe his gerynu micele seðunge, CH:XV-168. The heavy weight of anum twynigendum wife probably explains this occurrence.

Of the 22 clauses from SH, 12 (55%) have I-V order, and 10 (45%) V-I order. The distribution may be examined in terms of the weight of the indirect object, though the significance of weight is unclear in a sample of this size.

		I1		I2		I3		
I - V		6		6		0		12
V - I		9		0		1		10
		15		6		1		22

$\chi^2 = 8.503$ with 2 d.f.; the approximation is probably invalid.

Examples include:

I1 - V

þæt ic hit eow sæde (SH:IX-209)

þæt ic ðe nu sæde (SH:XII-018)

I2 - V

þæt we sume wæstmas godra weorca Gode agyfan (SH:III-182)

þæt ge me sylfum dydon þas foresædan ðing (SH:XI-427)

V - I1

þæt ic sæde soðlice nu eow (SH:X-135 and X-172)

þæt he sceolde him hundteontig mittan hwætes (SH:XVI-026)

V - I3

þæt se Hælend sealde swa bysne us mannum (SH:IX-074)

The picture is rather more complex in SH than CH. The order V-I accounts for virtually half the instances, while the pronominal indirect object surprisingly occurs after the verb in the majority of cases. The clause þæt ic hit eow sæde, (SH:IX-209) illustrates the order of pronouns which would be expected: subject, direct object, indirect object. Departures from the pattern of pronominal indirect object before verb are common, constituting a majority of instances, yet they should nonetheless be regarded as exceptional, for all are capable of explanation in terms of alliterative necessity. Thus, for instance, in SH:X-135 and X-172, the line reads Ge gehyrdon þæt ic sæde soðlice nu eow. Here sæde must fall within the a-line in order to alliterate across the caesura with soðlice.

When the indirect object is heavy it occurs after the verb. An exceptionally heavy indirect object in the form of another clause is found in clause SH:XX-275, þam þe huxlice tælð.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

The samples are small, making it practical to take those from CH and SH together. Examples and figures are:

I - v - V (CH=2;SH=0)

þæt him bam is forgifen (CH:VII-072)

þæt þam halgan were wæs geðuht (CH:XX-071)

v - I - V (CH=1;SH=0)

þæt he moste freolice ða heofonlican lare his leode bodian
(CH:IX-201)

v - V - I (CH=3;SH=2)

þæt he wolde beran drincan his gebroðrum (CH:XI-435)

þæt he hæfde his ðing and hine sylfne betæht þam halgan were
Benedicte (CH:XI-449)

þæt ren wæs forwyrned ðam wiðerweardum folce to ðreora geara
fyrste and syx monða fæce (CH:XIX-278)

þæt he sceolde syllan his hlaforde hundteontig oman mid ele
ametene (SH:XVI-022 and XVI-129)

I - V - v (CH=1;SH=4)

þæt we eow be fullum andgite hi geopenian magon (CH:XII-004)

þæt we swylcne Fæder us habban moton þone heofenlican God
(SH:XIII-040)

þæt us alogen ne bið (SH:XVIII-047)

Variety may be observed in the positioning of the indirect object. It may come before the whole of the complex verb (seven instances), after the whole (five instances), or between finite and non-finite verb (one instance). Considerations of weight in part explain the distribution. Indirect objects after the complex verb are heavy in two clauses (CH:XI-449 and CH:XIX-278), and of medium weight in the remaining four clauses. The indirect object which falls between finite and non-finite verbs is the one instance of medium weight. A pattern is hardest to discern in the case of indirect objects before the whole of the complex verb. Weights of light (CH:XII-004), medium (CH:VII-072) and heavy (CH:XX-071) may be found; the sample is not large enough to permit meaningful numerical analysis.

The order of the objects

There are 27 clauses in CH and 20 in SH which have both direct and indirect objects. In CH nine have the order O-I, and 18 I-O, while in

SH 10 have O-I and 10 I-O. Examples of O-I include:

þæt he fægere word and behat him cydde (CH:IX-198)

þæt he hæfde his ðing and hine sylfne betæhte þam halgan were
Benedicte (CH:XI-449)

þæt ic min mennisce hiw eowrum gesihþum afyrsige (SH:VII-047)

þæt ic hit eow sæde (SH:IX-209)

Examples of I-O include:

þæt he angelcynne sume lareowas asende (CH:IX-082)

þær he æteowode anum twynigendum wife embe his gerynu micele
seðunge (CH:XV-168)

þæt min winearde bære me wæstmas (SH:III-065)

þæt hy sceoldon ageldan us eft þæt gemet (SH:XIII-114)

There is a tendency for the object of lighter weight to precede the heavier, producing O-I in (for example) CH:XI-449 and SH:VII-047, and I-O in (for example) SH:XIII-114 and SH:III-065. When the two objects are of the same weight, the tendency is to place the indirect object after the direct object (as for example SH:IX-209). However exceptions are frequently encountered, (as for example CH:IX-168), and the relative position of these elements may readily be altered in the rhythmic prose to suit the alliterative form. Thus in the clause:

... þæt we sume wæstmas
godra weorca Gode agyfan (SH:III-182/3)

the direct object Gode has been delayed in order that it may form the alliterative stress in the b-line.

The order of complement and single finite verb

The sample from CH is of 39 clauses; from SH of 42 clauses. Of those

from CH, 13 show C-V order, and 26 V-C order. The distribution may in part be explained by the weight of the complement; in tabular form:

	C1	C2	C3	
C - V	0	13	0	13
V - C	0	15	10	26
	0	28	10	39

$\chi^2 = 7.661$ with 2 d.f.; the approximation is probably invalid.

Examples include:

C2 - V

þæt hi wode wæron (CH:XIII-112)

þæt hi unsynnige beon (CH:XIX-290)

V - C2

þæt ðu eart Samaritanisc (CH:XIII-020)

þæt hit wære se Hælend (CH:XVI-118)

V - C3

þæt þæt halige husel is ægðer ge Cristes lichama ge ealles geleaffulles folces æfter gastlicere gerynu (CH:XV-225)

þæt þæt wære seo helle þe ... (CH:XXI-031)

It may be seen that heavy complements consistently fall after the verb, while complements of medium weight divide roughly equally into pre-verbal and post-verbal position.

Of the 42 clauses from SH, 10 show C-V order, and 32 V-C order. The distribution is in part explained by the weight of the complement:

	C1	C2	C3	
C - V	1	6	3	10
V - C	0	8	24	32
	1	14	27	42

$\chi^2 = 10.389$ with 2 d.f.; the approximation is probably invalid.

Examples include:

C1 - V

þæt hi hyt sylfe wæron (SH:III-135)

C2 - V

þæt hi licweorðe beon to lare eow eallum (SH:VIII-054)

þæt he God si (SH:XVIII-291 and XVIII-303)

C3 - V

þæt hi þry godas syndon (SH:VIII-197)

þæt he Godes Sunu is (SH:IX-202)

þæt he soð God is (SH:XXI-501)

V - C2

þæt is Frefrigend on Englisc (SH:X-085)

þæt hi syndon þry (SH:VIII-203)

V - C3

þæt ure Hælend sy on his heofonlican mihte læsse þonne his Fæder (SH:IV-164)

þæt þu eart Crist Godes Sunu (SH:VI-063)

There is little difference in the two types of prose in the treatment of the positioning of the complement relative to the verb.

The order of complement and complex verb

This is exemplified by just one clause, þæt sum Romanisc Casere wæs Constantinus gehaten, CH:XVIII-005. Here the complement of medium weight is placed between the auxiliary which functions as the finite verb, and the past participle. It appears that complex verbs in clauses with a complement are rare in nominal clauses.

The position of single adverbial elements

The sample from CH is 173 clauses; from SH of 125 clauses. In CH, 98 (57%) have the order adverbial - verb, and 75 (43%) that of verb - adverbial. The distribution may in part be explained by the weight of the adverbial:

		A1		A2		A3		
A - V		29		27		42		98
V - A		1		18		56		75
		30		45		98		173

$$\chi^2 = 26.558 \text{ with } 2 \text{ d.f..}$$

Examples include:

A1 - V

hwæt tomerigen bið toweard (CH:V-197)

þæt seo halige mæsse micclum fremige ægðer ge ðam lybbendum ge
ðam forðfarenum (CH:XXI-140)

A2 - V

þæt hi mid attre hine acwealdon (CH:XI-072)

þæt hi on stilnysse heora lif adreogon (CH:XX-188)

A3 - V

hwæt ða gesetnyssa Godes þenunga on gearlican ymbryne getacniað
(CH:V-238)

hu se mildheorta hælend mid his agenre ðrowunge thysne
scyldigan middanearde alysde (CH:IX-195)

V - A1

þæt he moste freolice ða heofonlican lare his leode bodian
(CH:IX-201)

þæt he wære witodlice god (CH:XVII-027)

V - A2

þæt we sceolon don mid glædnysse (CH:XII-372)

þæt we oncneowon Cristes lufe on us þurh þæt (CH:XIX-070)

V - A3

þæt ic mote eoweres geswines wæstm on ðam ecan eðele geseon
(IX-184)

þæt Crist æte æfter his æriste gebrædne fisc and hunies beobread
(CH:XVI-192)

It may be seen that single adverbials precede the verb in all but one instance. In the exceptional clause CH:XVII-027 the adverbial is witodlice, which is etymologically two words (witod+lice), and I suggest perceived by Ælfric as having the weight of a two-word adverbial. In the cases of adverbial phrases of two words and of more than two words substantial numbers are found both before and after the verb.

Of the 125 clauses from SH, 79 (63%) have the order V-A, and 46 (37%) that of A-V. The distribution may in part be explained by the weight of the adverbial element:

		A1		A2		A3		
A - V		24		17		5		38
V - A		17		19		43		79
		41		36		48		125

$\chi^2 = 24.377$ with 2 d.f.

As noted in the figures for CH, the adverbial tends to precede the verb if it is of one or two words, and to follow it if it is of three or more words. Examples include:

A1 - V

þæt ic swa fare (SH:VII-013 and VII-045)

þæt we gastlice gefyllon þas godspellican word (SH:XVI-202)

A2 - V

þæt ic fram Gode ferde (SH:VIII-041)

þæt ðu fram Gode come (SH:XII-004 and XII-056)

A3 - V

þæt on þam yfelan timan arist seo unrihtwisnyss (SH:XVIII-331)

þæt heo mid twam handum tha twegen weallas geræhte (SH:XXI-534)

V - A1

þæt nan mann ne gesyhþ Godes rice æfre (SH:XII-008 and XII-067)

þæt hy sceolon ageldan us eft þæt gemet (SH:XIII-114)

V - A2

þæt ða wunion mid me (SH:XI-528)

þæt hi wurþodon him for godas (SH:XXI-082)

V - A3

þæt ure Hælend wæs mid anum Sunderhalgum (SH:VI-303)

þæt he ealle þing wat swa swa eallwealdend God (SH:VIII-245)

The figures for the positioning of single adverbials in SH reveal some important differences compared with CH. In particular one-word adverbials are frequently found after the verb, while only a handful of heavy adverbials are found before the verb. Rarely, if ever, can alliterative considerations be advanced to explain this order. Rhythm occasionally plays a part, as in SH:XIII-114, where the clause would lose its rhythmic form were eft to precede the verb. However rhythm is not a sufficient explanation for all observed instances of post-verbal single-word adverbials. Rather it may be suggested that moving the adverbial from its usual position functions as a subtle emphatic device which ensures that a light-weight word which could easily be missed stays in the hearer's ear. More difficult to account for is the absence of more examples of adverbial phrases of three or more words before the verb, given that these account for a substantial proportion of examples from CH. Tentatively I suggest that the rhythmic style of SH discouraged the positioning of a heavy adverbial towards the beginning of a clause.

The order of two adverbial elements and the finite verb

The sample from CH is of 65 clauses; from SH of 52 clauses. Examples and figures are as follows.

V - A - A (CH=38;SH=36)

þæt alleluia sy gesungen on ðam lande to lofe þæs Ælmihtigan
Scyppendes (CH:IX-078)

þæt he scyldig wære witodlice to deaðe (CH:XIV-127)

þæt ic adræfe deofla of mannum þurh ðæs deofles mihte (SH:IV-116)

þæt he gesawe syððan æfter ðisum eall-niwe heofonan and
eall-niwe eorðan (SH:XI-509)

A - V - A (CH=11;SH=10)

þæt he hi geornlice gerihte be ðære bysne (CH:Preface-044)

þæt ure Drihten æfter his æriste hine æteowode on siðfæte his twam
leorningnihtum (CH:XVI-042)

þæt ure leofa Hælend her on life wunode æfter his agenum deaðe
(SH:VII-128)

hwæt ðær bið gefremed on þam gefullodan menn (SH:XII-126)

A - A - V (CH=16;SH=4)

hwæt nu todæg is (CH:V-196)

þæt his æftergangen symle ðone pallium and ðone ercehad æt ðam
apostolican setle romaniscre gelaðunge feccan sceoldon
(CH:IX-249)

þæt we fram urum synnum þurh hine beon alysde (SH:XII-236)

þæt þu of ðines broðor eagan þæt mot ut ateo (SH:XIII-174)

The results are broadly similar for the two prose types, though A-A-V occurs less frequently in SH than CH, perhaps reflecting a tendency within the rhythmic prose to avoid an unwieldy and potentially unrhythmic group of adverbials before the verb. In both prose types grouping the two adverbials after the verb is the favoured position.

The order of three or more adverbial elements

The samples are small. Examples are given below from both prose types, with figures for each individually.

V - A - A - A (CH=7;SH=18)

þæt we sceolon ealle arisan mid urum lichaman on domes dæge
togeanes Criste (CH:III-281)

þæt we sceolon ðas feowertyne niht mid micelre geornfulnysse
healdan for genealæcunge þære halgan ðrowunge and þæs
arwurðfullan æristes ures Hælendes (CH:XIII-005)

þæt we wunian moton on ðam ecum eardungstowum æfter urum
forðsiþe mid ðam Godes mannum (SH:XVI-152)

þæt he cymð soðlice mid hys scinendum englum on þissere worulde
geendunge us to demanne (SH:XVIII-048)

A - V - A - A (CH=4;SH=11)

þæt he ða sceolde swiðlice befrinan his nydþearfnysse ær his
nextan dæge (CH:X-311)

þæt him swa getimode þurh Godes mihte for his gehyrsumnysse
(CH:XI-104)

þæt he soðlice aras on ansundum lichaman oferswiðdum deaðe
(SH:VII-143)

þæt we swa spræcon ongearn þone ælmihtigan God and ongearn þe,
leof (SH:XX-319)

A - A - V - A (CH=7;SH=3)

þæt he dæghwomlice mid us beon wolde oð geendunge ðissere
worulde (CH:XII-570)

þæt ic eft to ðam lichaman sceolde fram ðære stowe wynsumnysse
(CH:XXI-097)

þæt he on life lytel swanc for Criste (SH:XVI-119)

þæt min folc on eallum minum rice anmodlice buge to Daniheles Gode
(SH:XXI-342)

A - A - A - V (CH=1;SH=0)

þæt he næfre siððan of ðam mynstre sceacan nolde (CH:XI-389)

In both CH and SH the most common pattern is for the verb to be

followed by all three adverbials. Also well exemplified is for the adverbials to fall some before the verb and some after. This is the pattern observed in the one nominal clause to have four adverbial elements: þæt he her on life on sumere tide sæde on his godspelle to his apostolum, SH:XIII-005. Exemplified only once is the positioning of three adverbials before the verb, in CH:XI-389 (above). Worthy of note is the clause þæt sume ðing sind gecwedene be Criste þurh getacnunge sume ðurh gewissum ðinge, CH:XV-091, which I have refrained from analysing simply as V-A-A-A since sume ðurh gewissum ðinge is appositive to the subject sume ðing; the element falls in a position wholly appropriate for an adverbial.

Clause Patterns

Figures and examples for the occurrence of verb final and verb not final are as follows:

Verb final (CH=129;SH=99)

þæt hi Crist sohton (CH:XIV-085)

þæt ic minne Fæder lufige (SH:X-027)

Verb not final (CH=173;SH=192)

þæt Herodes wæs on ðære scire ða (CH:XIV-170)

þæt ge sylfe ne becumað into heofonan rice (SH:XV-005)

Verb final accounts for 42% of instances in CH, and 34% in SH. This is certainly not the verb final picture which might be expected (though as will be seen, not found) for dependent clauses. The examples of verb not final (immediately above) show heavy adverbials following the verb; material within this section provides copious instances of other elements, generally heavy, which follow the verb. In general it is the presence of such heavy elements which

discourage verb final position in a clause, though a tendency to postpone the verb may be seen in higher incidences of O-V and I-V orders in clauses of this type than are found in non-conjoined independent clauses.

Conclusion

From the above certain conclusions may be drawn. The subject is found before the verb phrase in the vast majority of instances. The positioning of the objects relative to the finite verb is influenced by considerations of weight: light objects usually fall before the verb; as their weight increases so too does their likelihood of falling after the verb. When the verb phrase is complex, light direct objects are most frequently found between the finite and non-finite verbs, and direct objects which are heavy after the whole of the complex verb. Indirect objects display more flexibility in this area, though once again weight serves as a factor determining their position. When two objects are found within a clause a tendency may be noticed for the lighter to precede the heavier, or when both are of the same weight for the direct object to precede the indirect. The behaviour of the complement is broadly similar to that of the objects, with heavy complements tending to follow the verb; the sample provides few instances of light complements; complements of medium weight fall roughly equally before and after the verb.

Implicit within the discussion above is the frequency of the verb final clause structure (S...V and S...Vv). Verb final position occurs in CH in 58 instances, constituting 50% of a sample of 116 clauses (those clauses which contain a subject and at least one of the elements direct object, indirect object and complement). The order S-O-V, as þæt hi on stilnysse heora lif adreogon, CH:XX-188, accounts for 42 instances from a potential sample of 83; S-I-V, as þæt he angelcynne

sume lareowas asende, CH:IX-082, accounts for 9 instances (potential sample of 14); SCV, as þæt cristen wurde ær his ende, CH:II-026, accounts for 12 instances (potential sample is 38). Comparable figures and examples from SH are 47 instances of verb final, constituting 32% of a sample of 145. These comprise 31 occurrences of S-O-V (potential 89), as þæt Crist hine gehælde, (SH:II-288), seven occurrences of S-I-V (potential 20), as þæt ic hit eow sæde, and 12 occurrences of S-C-V (potential 44), as þæt þu witega eart, (SH:V-040).

The positioning of the adverbial element is subject to partial explanation in terms both of the weight of individual adverbials, and the tendency to place groups of adverbials together, particularly after the finite verb. However adverbial position is less subject to rules or tendencies than is the positioning of other elements.

There are important areas of difference between the two prose types, as is revealed by the frequency of verb final position. Half of the clauses from CH show this order, but only a third of clauses from SH. Throughout, SH show a higher incidence of each of direct object, indirect object and complement following the verb. It appears that the constraints of the alliterative style were such that the order of subject - verb - object/complement was favoured. Differences may also be observed in adverbial position, particularly the habit in SH, rarely attested in CH, of placing one word adverbials before the verb, perhaps as an emphatic device. Differences between the two prose types are of degree; their essential similarity should be stressed.

3.2 - THE ORDER OF ELEMENTS IN ADJECTIVAL CLAUSES

A total of 1,457 relative clauses have been analysed, 649 drawn from CH, and 808 from SH.

Identification of relative clauses is usually straightforward, though stylistic ambiguity between relatives and declaratives is sometimes possible. Four different constructions may be used in Old English to introduce relative clauses, all of them found in *Ælfric*. These are:

- 1) The most frequently encountered relative clause construction is the indeclinable relative pronoun þe. Sometimes an anaphoric pronoun is added, especially where the meaning would otherwise be opaque.
- 2) An inflected form of the demonstrative pronoun (without þe) is frequently used to introduce a relative. Use of the demonstrative pronoun avoids the referential ambiguity of þe, though it is sometimes unclear whether the clause so introduced is a demonstrative or a relative.
- 3) The indeclinable þe may be preceded by the demonstrative, avoiding the ambiguities of case posed by use of the relative pronoun alone, and the ambiguity of function posed by use of the demonstrative pronoun alone. ⁽¹⁹⁷⁵⁾Geoghegan_A states that this type of relative construction was infrequent in early Old English, but became increasingly common. She suggests changing element-order patterns as the motivation for this change, in particular "a progressive loss in the change in the position of the verb which in earlier Old English was used to indicate relative clauses or any non-main sentence".
- 4) The form demonstrative pronoun, plus þe, plus anaphoric pronoun.

In all of the statistics below those subjects and objects which are relative pronouns have been excluded, for as the syntax of the relative clause is such that the relative pronoun must always occur

at the head of the clause to include these would seem at best unhelpful and in all probability misleading.

The order of subject and simple verb.

The sample from CH is of 155 clauses. Of these, 153 (99%), displaying various subject weights, have the order subject - verb. There are no instances of discontinuous subjects. Examples include:

ðe Iohannes fullode (CH:III-210)

ðe he nolde (CH:VI-036)

ðone heo brohte to Godes weofode on Cristes andwerdnyse
(CH:VII-118)

Two clauses (1%) have the order of verb - subject. These are:

þam gewicnode sum eawfæst wer on woruldcaram (CH:XI-335)

þa geneosode se halga wer symle æne ymbe gearas ymbrene
(CH:XI-489)

It should be noted that both these clauses could be interpreted as main clauses; however I concur with Thorpe (1844-6) in considering that the context suggests a relative, and have analysed them as such. In both cases the subject is heavy (sum eawfæst wer and se halga wer), which circumstance should probably be regarded as encouraging the inversion, though there are ample examples of heavy subjects preceding the finite verb in relative clauses, as for example ðe se halga wer STEPHANUS on his neawiste geworhte, CH:II-002.

From SH the sample is of 182 clauses. Of these 181 (99%) have the order of subject - verb, and one (1%) the order verb - subject. Examples of subject - verb order include:

þe God hi asent to þam gesceapenan lichaman on heora moddra

innopum (SH:II-230)

þe min Fæder asent on minum naman eow (SH:X-011)

þe he aflugde þæra hæpenra godas (SH:XXI-636)

There is one instance of a discontinuous subject: þe Moyses him awrat se mæra heretoga, SH:III-057. Here a phrase appositive to the subject follows the verb.

The one example of the order verb - subject is þe hine ablende se deofol, SH:IV-062. This striking element order appears to have been encouraged by the constraints imposed by the alliterative scheme of SH, in particular by the tendency for the final stress within an alliterative unit to be non-alliterative. The line is and fram þæræ blyndnysse þe hine ablende se deofol, which shows the xa:ay pattern of alliteration most commonly encountered within Ælfric, one which is in accordance with standard poetic practice. However the requirements of alliteration alone cannot explain the observed element-order, for as Brandeis (1897) has shown, in Ælfric the second stress of the second half line is allowed to participate in alliteration in about 10% of lines, with xa:ya being one of the most frequently encountered forms. Thus a secondary explanation is required for Ælfric's decision to use an inversion which must have sounded strange to the homily's original audience, rather than following an alliterative pattern which, while not that of poetry, is often encountered within his work. It is possible that the noun deofol promoted unusual (and particularly inverted) element-order as a stylistic device; the Ælfric corpus offers some scant support for this, though the idea needs investigation over a larger corpus for adequate evidence to be presented.

It may be seen that the rhythmic and non-rhythmic material agree closely in this area. In both the order subject - verb predominates to the extent where it may almost be considered a rule, yet in both the occasional exception may be found.

The order of subject and complex verb.

CH displays 17 relative clauses with complex verbs, all of which show the order S-V-v. SH provides a sample of 7 clauses, all similarly showing S-V-v. There are no examples of the subject following the complex verb, or splitting its components, nor are there instances of discontinuous subjects. Examples include:

þe he to ealdre geset hæfde (CH:XI-309)

þæt hit gehaten is (CH:XV-101)

þe nan eorðlic mann sprecaþ ne mot (CH:XX-013 and XX-016)

þe we meldian nellað (SH:V-230)

þe he habban wyle (SH:XIV-187)

þe he him geset hæfde (SH:XX-260)

It may be seen that the usual position described above of the subject before the simple verb is paralleled in complex verb phrases by the placing of subject before both finite and non-finite parts of the verb. This reflects the strong tendency for the subject to be placed at the head of a relative clause, immediately following the relative pronoun.

The order of direct object and simple verb.

The sample from CH is of 181 clauses. Of these, 137 (76%) have the order of direct object - verb, and 44 (24%) that of verb - direct object. The incidence of element-orders with objects of differing weights in CH may be summarised in tabular form thus:

	01	02	03	TOTAL
O - V	44	42	51	137
V - O	0	08	36	44
TOTAL	44	50	87	181

$\chi^2 = 29.785$ with 2 d.f.

It may be seen that there is a tendency in the non-rhythmic prose for the direct objects to precede the verb. This would appear to amount to a rule when the direct object is a pronoun; when the direct object is of medium weight there are a few exceptions which may be explained on stylistic grounds, while when the direct object is exceptionally heavy a tendency for the direct object to follow the verb may be observed. Examples include:

01 - V:

þe us mid swyftnysse godre drohtnunge forestæpð (CH:V-198)
 seo ðe us gelæt to ðam lifigendan Gode (CH:XIX-086)

02 - V:

ðe mid gymeleaste heora dagas aspendað (CH:V-119)
 ðe synne wyrçð (CH:XIII-076)

03 - V:

se ðe giu ær ðurh his engel ðone witegan Abbacuc lichamlice fram
 Iudea lande to Chaldea rice swyftlice feroðe (CH:XI-329)
 Se ðe Cristes gast on him næfð (CH:XVI-206)

V - 02:

se geheregað þa synfullan (CH:IV-244)
 se awrat ane boc be cyrclicum ðeawum (CH:V-237)

V - 03

se ðe gewylt ða ðe he gesceop (CH:V-040)

ðe afett ægðer ge englas ge menn (CH:XVI-189)

Explanation of the occurrence of the eight direct objects of medium weight after the verb may be found within the context in which the clause is located. Thus the first of the two examples cited above when placed within its immediate context reads þære scandlican Babilonian cyning is deofol se geheregað þa synfullan and gehæfte to þære hellican byrig gelæt to deofolicum ðeowte. It may be noted that þa synfullan is delayed in one clause, while in the following clause gehæfte is fronted. The two are as a result brought into close proximity, separated only by and; the explanation for the marked element-order in both clauses may be found within a rhetorical device which brings two ideas from adjacent clauses into close proximity. A second example of unusual element-order may similarly be explained as a stylistic device, once its context is observed: and hine sylfne aheng sona mid grine and rihtlice gewrað ða forwyrhtan ðrotan seo ðe lytle ær belæwde Drihten, CH:XIV-154. Within this passage a parallel appears to be drawn between, on the one hand gewrað ... ðrotan, and on the other belæwde Drihten. The construction is hinged by rihtlice; the rhetoric stresses that one event followed justly from the other.

The heavy objects divide themselves into those which precede and those which follow the noun, the latter accounting for around a third of the examples. It seems that the greater the weight of the direct object, the greater the chance of a verb - direct object pattern being found. This may readily be seen from the examples of V-03 above, where the direct object is in the first case a second relative clause, ða ðe he gesceop, and in the second a five word phrase, ægðer ge englas ge menn.

Results are broadly similar from SH, though here there are examples of pronominal direct objects preceding the verb, as well as

an increase in the percentage of direct objects of medium and heavy weight in this position. The sample from SH is of 255 clauses. Of these 175 (67%) have the order direct object - verb, and 80 (33%) the order verb - direct object; in tabular form taking into account the weight of the direct object the results are:

	01	02	03	TOTAL
O - V	70	57	48	175
V - O	03	37	39	79
TOTAL	73	94	87	254

$\chi^2 = 35.462$ with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

01 - V

þe him folgodon on life (SH:XI-049)

þe hine ær forwregdon (SH:XXI-491)

02 - V

þe Criste þeowiað (SH:IV-216)

þe ða deaðan arærde þurh his drihtenlican mihte (SH:VII-092)

03 - V

ðe tallic word cwyð ongean ðone Halgan Gast (SH:VI-218)

se þe heofonas and eorþan and ealle þing gesceop (SH:XXI-368)

V - 01

se ðe alysde us (SH:V-289)

þe arwurðiað Hine mid weorcum a (SH:VII-180)

þe lufiað þe (SH:XXI-480)

V - 02

þe sceawað wifman mid luste (SH:XV-095)

þe liciað þam deofle (SH:XXI-162)

V - 03

þe hæfde gelogod þa Iudeiscan þeode on þam selestan earde þysre

worulde middan (SH:III-052)

þe lærað Godes folc (SH:XVI-274)

The most interesting category is that of verb - direct object pronoun, unexampled in CH, but represented by three clauses from SH. Example SH:XX1-480 is a special case in that the direct object personal pronoun þe is identical with the relative pronoun þe; stylistic considerations may have favoured splitting these two elements, though it may be noted that it is probable that a difference in pronunciation may have existed between these two functions of þe. In example SH:V-289 the alliterative form of the line indicates the motivation for placing the direct object after the verb, for in On þone we eac gelyfað, se þe alysde us, Ælfric avoids making the final stress alliterative, in accordance with his usual (though by no means invariable) practice. The remaining example, SH:VII-180, may be explained as a device for placing rhetorical weight upon the pronoun Hine, which refers to God (SH:VIII-178).

For the instances quoted above of direct object following the verb explanations may be offered. The first appears to be produced as a syntactic gloss of the Vulgate passage which Ælfric is translating, and which he himself quotes:

Omnis, qui uiderit mulierum ad concupiscendum eam,
iam mechatus est eam in corde suo,
þæt is on Englisc,
Ælc man þe sceawað wifman mid luste
þæt he hy habban wolde, þæt him witodlice bið
þæt forliger gefremudon his agenne heortan (SH:XV-092-097)

Thus sceawað wifman may be regarded as influenced by the Latin element-order in uideret mulierum, though while this pattern is less frequently found than that of direct object before verb, Ælfric writes nothing which is not syntactically correct English. The second of the two instances quoted, SH:XXI-162, again shows a perfectly correct syntactic element-order, though one less frequently encountered than its inverse. Possibly the presence of the noun deofle is significant,

as observed above.

The order of direct object and complex verb

Samples are small, consisting of 19 clauses from CH, and 18 from SH. As a consequence it has seemed best to take the two groups together. Five element-orders are represented; figures and examples include:

O - v - V (CH=0;SH=4)

þe Drihtnes hæsum nellað gehyrsumian (SH:II-080)

þe he gesette to steore (SH:XIV-099)

v - O - V (CH=9;SH=4)

se ðe ne mæg þæt yfel bewepan (CH:IX-121)

þam ðu scealt heofonan rices infær geopenan (CH:X-019)

se ðe wile þæt husel ðicgan (CH:XV-304)

þe mage me into þam wæterscipe don æfter þære styrunge (SH:II-034)

þe wyle us habban (SH:XVI-054, and with spelling variation SH:XVIII-157)

v - V - O (CH=6;SH=3)

þe nele wyrcean god weorc (CH:III-031)

ðe mihte behwyrfan ða halgan martiras mid gastlicum sangum and Godes gerihtum (CH:XVIII-153)

se ðe nele underfon nan þing ær æt us (SH:XV-209)

O - V - v (CH=4;SH=4)

þe hire derigan wolde (CH:X-150)

se þe hungrigum oððe nacodum gehelpan mæg (CH:XII-322)

þe us læran sceolon (SH:XIV-068)

þe us tosliton wyllað (SH:XX-344)

V - O - v (CH=0;SH=0)

V - v - O (CH=0;SH=2)

þe ne magon geseon þæs geleafan leoht (SH:II-076)

þe habban sceolon þæt heofonlice lif (SH:XV-088)

The most frequently encountered position of the direct object is between the finite and non-finite verb. The direct objects tend to be of light or medium weight, though this is by no means invariable as may be seen by CH:X-019, where an exceptionally heavy direct object, heofonan rices infær, is found. Also well represented is the order of direct object preceded by a verb phrase of the form finite verb - non-finite verb. Examples here are medium or heavy in weight. The positioning of the direct object before a complex verb of the form finite verb - non-finite verb is found in SH. In three examples, including SH:II-080, the alliterative scheme may be regarded as responsible for the variation from the usual pattern; in SH:XIV-099 alliterative needs are augmented by the stylistic device of echoing the noun gesetnyssa by verb gesette as Godes gesetnyssa, þe he gesette to steore.

Fewer examples of complex verbs of the type non-finite verb finite verb are found. The positioning of the direct object relative to these constructions has much to do with their weight. Thus, of the examples of O-V-v, three have a pronoun as direct object (though it must be noted that one has the heavy phrase hungrigum oððe nacodum). The examples of a direct object after a complex verb of this type are heavy (þæs geleafan leoht, SH:II-076, and þæt heofonlice lif, SH:XV-088); the two examples of direct objects within the complex verb show one pronoun and one qualified noun.

The picture is one of great flexibility in the positioning of the direct object. Though weight does play a part in the ordering of elements, it would appear that stylistic considerations, particularly alliterative restraints, may readily influence the patterning. Direct objects follow the subject in all instances; this reflects the strong tendency of the subject to take initial position in a clause.

The order of indirect object and simple verb.

The sample from CH is of 39 clauses. Of these, 37 (95%) have the order indirect object - verb, and two (05%) the order verb - indirect object. The sample from SH is of 74 clauses, of which 55 (74%) have the order indirect object - verb, and 19 (26%) have the order verb - indirect object. Examples of indirect object - verb order showing various indirect object weights from CH include:

se ðe him sylfum gold hordað (CH:VII-099)

seo ðe us ðenað lifes hlaf (CH:VIII-102)

þe He Abrahame and his ofspringe behet (CH:XII-182)

The two examples of verb - indirect object are:

ðe God behet Abrahame (CH:IV-173)

þe is gegearcod ðam deofle and his awyrigendum gastum
(CH:VII-162)

Weight does not appear a particularly helpful criterion for explaining the motivations for this element-order. It may be noted however that the pronominal indirect objects (a sample of 25) all fall before the verb; the two instances of indirect object following the verb occur in cases where the indirect object is of medium or heavy weight. In CH:IV-173 a stylistic device may explain the order, as Ælfric seeks to place a rhetorical distance between God and Abraham. The clause þe he eallum gesette geleaffullum leodum lareow and hyrde, CH:XIV-141, is an example of an indirect object eallum geleaffullum leodum which is split by the verb. It may be suggested that its particularly heavy weight encouraged the placing of this indirect object after the verb, while the strong tendency in Old English to place an indirect object before a verb promoted the curious splitting of the noun

phrase.

From SH examples of indirect object - verb order include:

ðe mid soðfæstnysse him to clypiað on heora gedrefednysse
(SH:V-183)

þe hiom soðlice behreowsiað heora misdæda on eallum middanearde
(SH:VI-260)

Examples of verb - indirect object order include:

þæt ic sæde soðlice nu eow (SH:X-017)

þe ðu gedemest mannum (SH:XIII-075)

þe God bebedad gefyrn þam ealdan Israhele under Moyses lage
(SH:XV-009 and XV-125)

þe we maciað Bele (SH:XXI-382)

As is the case with indirect object position for CH, weight may not be seen as an explanation for the distribution.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

Two of the six theoretically possible element-orders are attested. Figures and a selection of examples are as follows:

v - V - I (CH=1;SH=2)

þe is gegearcod ðam deofle and his awyrigedum gastum
(CH:VII-162)

se ðe ne mæg geþafian his underþeoddum mannum (SH:XIII-063)

þe wæs gemynt þam gode (SH:XXI-427)

I - V - v (CH=1;SH=2)

ðe him betæhte syndon (CH:III-239)

ðe eow gegearcod wæs (SH:XI-410)

þe he him geset hæfde (SH:XX-260)

As the sample for this category is small, it is possible to offer only general observations on this pattern. The weight of the indirect

object appears to be the prime factor determining its position. Thus the three examples of an indirect object before a verb are all pronouns, and two of the three examples of indirect object after the complex verb are heavy (his awyrigendum gastum and his underþeoddum manum; the third instance has medium weight þam gode).

The order of direct and indirect objects.

The sample from CH is of seven clauses. Of these, three have the order direct object - indirect object, and four indirect object - direct object. The three examples of direct object - indirect object are:

þe hit us alænde (CH:VII-045)

se ðe ðone heofenlican fodan him brohte (CH:X-072)

se ðe hine sylfne for urum synnum geoffrode liflice onsægnysse
his leofan fæder (CH:XIV-067)

The first of these examples shows two pronominal objects, a case where it might be reasonable to suppose that the order direct object - indirect object may well have been well established. The second example shows the pronominal indirect object in its expected position before the verb; the element in an unusual position is ðone heofenlican fodan, which may be regarded as being fronted in order to make it the focus of that clause, and to stress the contrast with ðæs eorðlican in the following clause, and ðæs eorðlican ne rohte. The third example should probably be regarded as showing the influence of weight. The direct object hine sylfne, which is the lighter of the two objects, is placed before the verb, while the heavier indirect object his leofan fæder is placed after the verb.

The four examples of the order indirect object - direct object are:

- þe him lac brohton (CH:III-003)
 se ðe hine ondræt God (CH:III-297)
 seo ðe us ðenað lifes hlaf (CH:VIII-102)
 þe us lifes edwist forgifð (CH:XV-137)

These examples reflect the relative weight of the two objects as the motivation for their relative position, with the pronominal indirect object in all cases preceeding the heavier direct object.

The sample from SH is of 15 clauses, all of which have the order indirect object - direct object, and provide additional evidence that the order of the objects is determined by their relative weights, for example þe him wæstmas agyfað on gewissum timan, SH:III-138.

The order of complement and simple verb.

The sample from CH is of 47 clauses. Of these, nine (19%) have the order of complement - verb, and 38 (81%) that of verb - complement. Examples of complement - verb order include:

- ðe we husel hatað (CH:XV-133)
 ðe unleas is (CH:XX-017)

Examples of the order verb - complement include:

- se ðe is ægðer ge God ge mann an Crist (CH:I-040)
 se ðe is strengra þonne ic (CH:III-052)
 ðe hi hatað Paulus gesihðe (CH:XX-014)

The sample from SH is of 86 clauses, of which 66 (77%) have the order verb - complement, and 20 (23%) the order complement - verb. Examples of complement - verb order include:

þe he God is (SH:VIII-210)

se ðe ungetrywe bið on þam læssan þinge (SH:XVI-282)

Examples of verb - complement order include:

se ðe is ælmihtig God æfre unbegunnen of ðam Fæder and of þam
Suna heora begra Lufu (SH:VI-256)

se ðe is his wisdom (SH:XXI-020)

The distribution may be explained by the weight of the complement, heavy complements following the verb, and complements of light or medium weight preceding the verb. The frequency of complements after the verb is a result of the tendency for complements to be heavy.

The order of complement and complex verb

Most complex verbs in clauses with complements are of the form finite verb - non-finite verb. As the sample is small - 21 instances from CH and 12 from SH - the two groups have been presented together. Figures and examples are as follows:

C - V - v (CH=0;SH=1)

þe langsum beon ne mæg (SH:VI-145)

C - v - V (CH=0;SH=2)

se þe læst bið geðuht on þam life wunigende (SH:XI-555)

v - C - V (CH=7;SH=3)

þe is Lindisfarnea gehaten (CH:X-142)

seo wæs fif mila fram Hierusalem Emmaus gehaten (CH:XVI-004)

se ðe ys Crist gecweden (SH:V-206)

þe wæs Helias gehaten (SH:VIII-079)

þe is Liber Regum gehaten (SH:XXI-210)

v - V - C (CH=14;SH=6)

þe is geciged Chana Galileiscre scire (CH:IV-037)

se is gehaten Synay (CH:XII-124)

se ðe is gehaten Mæssias (SH:V-057)

þe is gecweden Edom (SH:XX-306)

The clause þe langsum beon ne mæg, SH:VI-145, is remarkable in two ways. It is unusual in that it places its complement before both parts of the complex verb, and in the element-order of the verb phrase as non-finite verb - finite verb. The fronting of the complement is best explained as a stylistic device, allowing Ælfric to avoid end-stress alliteration in the line For ðæs lichaman life þe langsum beon ne mæg. It may well be that moving the complement has encouraged the order finite verb - non-finite verb in order to bring the infinitive beon into closer proximity to its complement. The order of non-finite verb before finite, though rare in Ælfric, is the characteristic subordinate order of Old English. It would appear that a preservation of the old element-order is apparent here. The presence of the negative is unlikely to be significant. Sharing the feature of fronted complement but without inverted element-order within the verb phrase is se þe læst bið geðuht on þam life wunigende. Rhythm seems important here. The two half-lines each place their heavier stress first, and reinforce the stress by alliteration, with the result that it is the words læst and life which remain in the hearer's ear.

Of the remaining 30 relative clauses with complement and complex verb, ten place the complement within the verb phrase, and 20 after. Frequently it is difficult to determine why one pattern is used rather than another, why, for instance, the non-rhythmic prose offers in one place þe is Lindisfarnea gehaten, CH:X-102, and in another se is gehaten Synay, CH:XII-124. Weight does not appear to be a

controlling factor, as, for instance, a heavy complement may be found either after the verb phrase, (for example CH:IV-037), or within the verb phrase (for example SH:XXI-210).

The position of the adverbial in clauses which have one adverbial element.

The sample of clauses from CH is 260. It is found that the adverbial usually precedes the verb, with 180 instances of adverbial - verb order (70%), and 80 of verb - adverbial (30%). The weight of the adverbial provides a partial explanation for the distribution.

	A1	A2	A3	TOTAL
A - V	59	60	61	180
V - A	07	16	57	80
TOTAL	66	76	118	260

$$\chi^2 = 32.999 \text{ with 2 d.f..}$$

Adverbials which are of one or two words show a strong tendency to be placed before the verb, while heavy adverbials - three or more words - split approximately equally between positions before and after the verb.

The sample from SH is of 315 clauses, of which 156 (50%) have adverbial - verb order, and 159 (50%) verb - adverbial order. The weight of the adverbial element goes some way to explain the choice of element-order. The results may be summarised in tabular form:

	A1	A2	A3	TOTAL
A - V	62	57	3	156
V - A	32	53	74	159
TOTAL	94	110	111	315

$$\chi^2 = 22.027 \text{ with 2 d.f..}$$

One-word adverbials are more likely to be placed before the verb than after it; this tendency may be found also in the category of two-word adverbials, though the result is not conclusive. Heavy adverbials (of three or more words) tend to follow the verb.

The position of the adverbials in clauses which have two adverbial elements

The sample of clauses from CH with two adverbials is 87; from SH is of 109 clauses

A - V - A (CH=21;SH=47)

þe him to ðearfe mihte for ðaere biternysse (CH:XII-107)

se ðe aefre ðurhwunað on anrædum geleafan (CH:XIX-268)

se ðe of Iudeiscum cynne com of Marian (SH:V-195)

þe of eallum landum gelyfdon on hine (SH:XIV-056)

A - A - V (CH=35;SH=23)

ðe he sylf ðurh hine and ðurh þæt clæne mæden his moder astealde (CH:I-284)

ðe hine mid halgum mægnum healice geglengde (CH:XII-538)

se ðe gewunolice and unforwandodlice singað (SH:VI-166)

þe on God nu gelyfað (SH:XIV-155)

V - A - A (CH=31;SH=39)

þone heo brohte to Godes weofode on Cristes andwerdnysse (CH:VII-118)

ðe hi ferdon of ðam lande to ðam behatenan earde (CH:XV-010)

þæt ic sæde soðlice nu eow (SH:X-017)

þe God behead gefyrn þam ealdan Israhele under Moyses lage (SH:XV-125)

In both prose types the tendency may be observed for the two adverbials to group together either before or after the finite verb. This tendency is less well marked in SH, reflecting the pressures of

the rhythmic style.

The position of the adverbials in clauses which have three or more adverbial elements

The sample from CH is of 29 clauses; from SH of 30. Examples and figures for three adverbials before the verb, three adverbials after the verb, and three adverbials split by the verb are as follows:

A - A - A - V (CH=14;SH=7)

ðe he eft æfter fyrste mid hunigswettre þrotan þæslice bealcette
(CH:IX-027)

se ðe giu ær ðurh his engel ðone witegan Abbacuc lichamlice fram
Iudea lande to Chaldea rice swyftlice ferode (CH:XI-329)

þe to Godes rice þurh Godes sylfes fultum eadige becumað to ðam
ecan life (SH:XIV-164)

þa ðe mid goodum willan and weorcum æfre hym ær gecwemdan oð
heora lifes ende (SH:XVIII-137)

The order verb - adverbial - adverbial - adverbial is found in five clauses (17%) including:

V - A - A - A (CH=5;SH=12)

þe awrat on leoðcræftes wison be Cristes acennednysse and be his
ðrowunge and be his æriste and be his upstige and be his tocyme
to ðam micclum dome swiðe swutellice (CH:I-219)

þe se heofenlica wealdend his folce gesette to some and to
sehtnysse and to rihtlæcunge ealra forgægednyssa (CH:XII-155)

þe syngað on þreo wisan on yfelre geþafunge oððe yfelum geþohte
on yfelre fremminge and on yfelum gewunan (SH:VI-173)

se ðe leofað and rixað mid his leofan Suna and ðam Halgan Gaste
on anre godcundnysse an ælmihtig God a butan ende AMEN
(SH:XI-572)

Examples of three adverbials split by a verb (of which there are 10 examples from CH, and 17 from SH) include:

þe ana þa gelyfde on þone ælmihtigan God on Abrahames wisan
(SH:XXI-212)

þe æfter Cristes menniscnysse þurh Cristes geleafan eaðelice
wearð of his anlicnysse adræfed (SH:XXI-573)

It may be seen that in CH 65% of the sample the three adverbials fall as a group either before or after the verb. Results are similar from SH, where the corresponding figure is 63%. It would seem that the tendency in both types of prose is to avoid splitting the group of adverbials.

Clause patterns

For the position of the verb within the clause the following figures and examples may be offered:

Verb final CH=376;SH=364

ðe for ðinum tintregum heora Drihten wiðsocon (CH:XVIII-087)

se þe heofonas and eorþan and ealle þing gesceop (SH:XXI-368)

Verb not final CH=271;SH=445

se ðe wile þæt husel ðicgan (CH:XV-304)

þe he geworhte on life (SH:XIV-222)

Verb final, which might be considered the characteristic order of dependent clauses, accounts for 58% of CH and 45% of SH. Almost any element may on occasions follow the finite verb in adjectival clauses, the only important exception being pronominal subjects. Elements which follow the finite verb are usually of medium or heavy weight, as in the examples above (where þæt husel, a medium weight direct object, and ðicgan, a non-finite verb, follow the finite verb in CH:XV-304, and on life, a two-word adverbial, follows in SH:XIV-222).

However elements of medium and heavy weight may be found before the verb, permitting verb final. An understanding of element-order in adjectival clauses is better sought in the weight of individual elements than in a general concept of verb final - verb not final. In the greater frequency of O-V and I-V orders in adjectival clauses compared with non-conjoined independent clauses some support may be found for the concept of a postponed verb.

Conclusion.

From the above certain conclusions about the order of elements in adjectival clauses may be drawn. The relative pronoun (unless omitted) must always occur at the head of the clause. This is almost always followed by the subject. For the remainder of the clause, the objects are most likely to precede the verb, and the complement most likely to follow. In the case of the objects it may be seen that their weight influences their position relative to the verb, with most light elements falling before the verb, and the majority of those objects found after the verb being heavy. The most common order is for subject and object (or objects) to precede the verb (with direct object preceding indirect object), and for the complement to follow the verb, though it should be noted that there are many departures from this pattern, which may represent features of the author's style, an element which is found in an unusual place having emphasis thrown upon it.

The most frequently found position of the adverbial elements may be described, though a greater degree of freedom exists in the positioning of these elements compared with that of the main elements. The majority of adverbials are found after the object (direct or indirect) and before the verb, though a substantial number are to be found after the verb, especially when their weight is

heavy. Adverbials tend to group themselves together within a clause, with the result that a group of two or more adverbials either before or after the verb is more often met with than a pair of adverbials split by the verb.

There are very few significant differences in element-order between the two types of prose.

In some instances the rhythmic prose displays a greater degree of freedom in the positioning of elements. Thus in SH an object which is a pronoun may be found following the verb, while CH never places an object of such a weight in this position. The single adverbials are equally common in SH both before and after the verb, while in CH there is a tendency to place the adverbial before the verb.

On other occasions the rhythmic prose has stricter element-order than the non-rhythmic material. The direct object always follows the indirect object in SH, while in CH half of the sample shows direct object - indirect object order. Heavy adverbials in clauses with one adverbial element are most likely to follow the verb in SH, though in CH they are found equally before the verb.

It would be wrong to over-emphasise these distinctions. The overwhelming picture is one of consensus between the two styles, and it must be concluded that within the category of relative clauses Ælfric made very few changes in his element-order when writing in his rhythmic style.

3.3 - ADVERBIAL CLAUSES3.3.1 - CLAUSES OF PLACE

The sample from CH is of 23 clauses, and from SH of 35 clauses. Several introductory conjunctions are found. These are pær (and pær pær), swa hwær swa, ðonon (ðe), hwær and hwider.

In theory at least there may be a difficulty in distinguishing between independent clauses introduced by the adverb pær, and dependent clauses with the conjunction pær as their head-word. In practice however this rarely causes problems, as the context usually leaves little room for doubt. Thus, for instance, on the basis of its context I interpret Ðær wæron gelædde mid ðam Lifigendan Drihtne twegen scyldige sceaðan for heora synnum to henne, CH:XIV-227, as independent, while the clause pær bið wop and wanung, SH:V-276, similarly ambiguous in its syntax, I interpret on the basis of context as a clause of place. Mitchell discusses the clause Ðær stod se Sunu on ðære menniscnysse, CH:III-118, and asserts "There is, of course, no doubt that we have the adverb pær" (1985 §2444). His reasoning is presumably based principally upon sense, though it conforms with the guide of element-order (Andrew's caution that pær+(VS) should be interpreted as subordinate only with good reason),² and Mitchell's view with regard to this clause has been accepted. The conjunction swa hwær swa, found in CH, does not occur in Old English poetry;³ it may be noted that no examples have been found in the rhythmic

² Andrew's rule for prose is that pær S(...)V must be subordinate, while pær VS clauses are "as a rule" principal, and may only be interpreted as subordinate with good reason. Mitchell (1985 §§2446-2447) criticises this rule, suggesting that it is based upon a faulty premise (Andrew's belief in the existence of rigid rules), and on faulty method (undue reliance on Latin originals). However he points out that it is wrong to ignore Andrew's findings because they are more dogmatic than is acceptable today.

³ Mitchell (1985, §2482).

prose of SH. The clause þonon ðe ðu wiðuton on wurðmynte ahafen bist, CH:IX-246 has been interpreted as a clause of place. Thorpe (1846) translates the conjunction because, suggesting that he viewed it as a causal clause, but Mitchell's view (1985, §2468) that the idea of place is present is persuasive. Whether hwær and hwider may be considered as introducing an adverbial clause (rather than as interrogatives) is a vexed question.⁴ In my estimation there are several clauses which are introduced by these words and which are unsuited in sense for interpretation as interrogatives.

The order of subject and verb

The sample from CH with a simple verb is of 20 clauses; from SH of 38 clauses. Of the clauses from CH, all 20 show S-V order. Examples include:

þær heo lytle ær cwacigende stod (CH:II-164)

ðær ðær þin goldhord is (CH:VII-108)

swa hwær swa hit ætstod (CH:XII-113)

Of the 29 clauses with a simple verb from SH, 27 show S-V order, and two V-S order. Examples of S-V order include:

hwider ic fare nu (SH:VII-010)

⁴ Yamakawa (1971) considers the widening of function of hwær from that of interrogative alone to include the rôle of subordinating conjunction (well attested in Middle English) to be apparent in Old English. The typical use as an interrogative introducing a noun clause is illustrated by Ða he hi findan ne mihte, ða axode he ða landes men hwar þæt wif wære (Ælfric, Genesis, xxxviii-21). A transitional stage may be seen in Ic sece mine gebroðru, hwar hig healdon heora heorda (Ælfric, Genesis, xxxvii-16), where the clause introduced by hwar may be interpreted either as introducing a noun clause or as a subordinating conjunction. Yamakawa is satisfied that hwær is a conjunction in Deor habbað hola, and fugelas habbað nest hwær hi restað... (Ælfric, Catholic Homilies, First Series), Thorpe 160.33). It seems reasonable to conclude from this last example that Ælfric could on occasions use hwær as a subordinating conjunction.

þær ðær þa Iudeiscan ealle ætsomne comon (SH:IX-029)

The examples of V-S order are:

þær bið wop and wanung on ealra worulda woruld (SH:V-276)

þær bið wop and wanung and toða gristbitung (SH:XVIII-433)

The similarity of these two exceptional clauses is immediately striking. It may be that the subjects were perceived as complements in clauses with zero subjects, and therefore placed in a position appropriate for heavy complements in a subordinate clause.

There are two clauses from CH with complex verbs, illustrating two positions in which the subject may be found: before the whole of the verb, as in þær þær se swearta deað onsigende bið, CH:X-218, and between the finite and non-finite verb, as in Swa hwær swa beoð twegen oððe ðry gegadrode on minum naman, CH:XVI-050. As will be seen from SH, the order of subject before verb is the most frequently encountered position. Example CH:XVI-050 may perhaps be explained as an emphatic device stressing the subject by placing it post-verbally. The placing of the subject is uniform in SH; of nine clauses with a complex verb, one has no subject; the remaining eight all place the subject before the whole of the complex verb. Examples include:

þær þa Iudeiscan woldon hyne berædan (SH:VI-336)

þær ðær he orðian wile (SH:XII-020, XII-146 & XII-150)

Differences between the two prose types in the placing of subject relative to verbs both simple and complex are unlikely to be significant, though the sample is scarcely large enough to demonstrate their uniformity.

The order of direct object and verb

The sample from CH is of two clauses; from SH of four clauses. The clauses from CH show O-V order:

þær ðær omm and moððan hit awestað (CH:VII-105)

þær hi seo teorung gelette (CH:XI-580)

The smallness of the sample encourages mention of one additional clause which would usually be excluded. The clause ðær ðær he sylf smeade þæt hus to arærenne, CH:X-208, has an object dependent on the infinitive complement, which verb it precedes, though following the finite verb.

From SH there are three examples of O-V order, and one of V-O order. The examples of O-V order are:

Ðær man Godes lof singð (SH:XII-156)

þær man Godes lare segð (SH:XII-157)

þær he wicstowe hæfde (SH:XXI-580)

The first two examples, occurring in consecutive lines, clearly mirror one another. In the three instances the direct object is light, suggesting that weight may be the factor determining its position. The one example of V-O is þær þær he bær þone stor, SH:XX-256. Here the prime motivation for the order is presumably alliterative considerations, the line being and forbærnde þone Chae þær þær he bær þone stor, with bær required to form the alliteration in the b-line by falling as the first b-line stress.

There are two instances of direct objects in clauses with complex verbs, where the order finite verb - direct object - non-finite verb is attested:

þær þa Iudeiscan woldon hyne berædan (SH:VI-336)

þær þær nan þeof ne mæg ne ne mot hy forstelan (SH:XVI-160)

In both cases the direct object is a pronoun.

The order of subject and direct object.

This is represented in CH by three clauses, all of which appear in the discussion above. Two (CH:VII-105 and CH:X-208) have the order S-O; one (CH:XI-580) has O-S. In SH this category is represented by six clauses, all of which have S-O order. Examples include:

þær þa Iudeiscan woldon hyne berædan (SH:VI-336)

þær þær he bær þone stor (SH:XX-256)

þær he wicstowe hæfde (SH:XXI-580)

Though the sample is small it would appear that the order S-O is usual, but that the alternative order may be found when the subject is heavier than the object, as is illustrated by hi seo teorung gelette, CH:XI-580.

The order of single adverbials and the finite verb.

The sample from CH and SH is of six clauses each. Of those from CH, one, þær his bedd inne wæs, CH:XI-523, places the adverbial before the verb, and five place the adverbial after the verb, as for instance swa hwær swa hi wicodon geond þæt westen, CH:XII-102. From SH, four show A-V order, as for instance þær man embe God smeað, SH:XII-158, and two V-A order:

hwider ic fare nu (SH:VII-010)

þær bið wop and wanung on ealra worulda woruld (SH:V-276)

It may be suspected that weight plays a part in determining the position of the adverbial relative to the verb, lighter adverbials tending to be placed pre-verbally and heavier adverbials post-verbally; this tendency is sometimes violated however, as for

instance in SH:VII-010 (above).

Clause patterns

The following figures and examples may be presented:

Verb final CH=17;SH=23

hwider heo wolde (CH:II-106)

þær he bebyrged wæs (SH:VI-044)

Verb not final CH=7;SH=16

swa hwær swa hi wicodon geond þæt westen (CH:XII-102)

þær bið þæs Gastes gifu (SH:XII-158)

Verb final accounts for 71% of instances in CH, and 59% in SH. The numerous exceptions to the verb final tendency are frequently capable of explanation in terms of the presence of a heavy element within the clause which is placed in post-verbal position. This is certainly illustrated by the two instances of verb not final quoted above, where CH:XII-102 is followed by a heavy adverbial phrase geond þæt westen, and SH:XII-158 by a heavy nominal element þæs Gastes gifu. Other examples may be found within this section. It appears that the weight of the elements which constitutes a clause is the factor which determines the frequency of verb not final; clauses of place contain relatively few heavy elements, and therefore have a higher incidence of verb final than do other types of dependent clauses, which contain more heavy elements.

Conclusion

The infrequent occurrence of clauses of place within the material analysed prevents a full set of figures from being drawn, and makes

comparison between the non-rhythmic and rhythmic prose difficult. Thus, for instance, only one example of a clause of place with an indirect object occurs within the material analysed, pær Martha him spræc to, SH:VI-070, while there are no examples containing complements, which makes an examination of these areas of element-order impossible.

Some general trends are apparent: the subject usually precedes the verb; the direct object usually follows the subject, but may fall either before or after the verb, probably depending in part at least upon its weight. The small samples described above do not reveal significant differences in element-order between CH and SH.

3.3.2 - CLAUSES OF TIME

There are 272 clauses from CH within this category, and 196 from SH, displaying a wide variety of introductory conjunctions. These include pa, ponne, penden, swa lange swa, sibban, and swa sona. On the conjunction nu Mitchell (52591) says that it is never used "in a purely temporal sense". This view may be explored with reference to the clause nu þes lama wædla buton handcræfte Godes beboda getylde, CH:VI-201. Though it is possible in this instance to read nu as causal (and translate it as since), such an interpretation is strained. It seems to me to accord better with the sense to read nu as temporal, and have therefore analysed it as a clause of time. In my view Thorpe (1846) is correct in translating as while. The historical development is from nu temporal to nu causal (cf. modern English since); it might be suggested that nu, though primarily causal in force could on occasions be used as a temporal conjunction. The instance serves as an excellent example of a clause on the border between two categories, not purely temporal, but arguably more akin to a clause of time than of cause.

The placement of temporal clauses relative to their head clause has been considered by Waterhouse (1984). She finds (as Adams (1907) asserts for Old English, though without giving evidence) that Ælfric in Lives of Saints places temporal clauses both before and after head clauses, and occasionally interpolates them within the head clause. She suggests that the motivation for the position is stylistic. An initial temporal clause is in an emphatic position, and ensures that the modification is clear before the head clause is reached. When the time clause follows the head clause, though it may have climatic force, "it still acts as a break on what precedes, slowing down the momentum achieved by the head clause by modifying previously given information" (p. 25).

The order of subject and simple verb

Within CH the order of subject - verb may be regarded virtually as a rule; in a sample of 198 clauses it is attested in 196 instances, with one instance of a discontinuous subject, part of which is post-verbal, and just two instances of verb - subject order. Examples, displaying various subject weights, include:

þonne ge gelomlice gehyrað ða mærlīcan wundra þæs eadigan
cyðeres Stephanes (CH:II-004)

ær ðan ðe Drihten niðer astah (CH:V-145)

oð þæt his lareow mid biterum tearum dreoriglice wependre ealra
ðæra cildra plegan færlīce gestilde (CH:X-020)

The one instance of a discontinuous subject where a part of the subject is placed after the verb is ða ða he com sylf to ðam fulluhtere, CH:III-099.

The two examples of verb - subject order are þa for unwedre gecyrde he to sumes hyrdes cytan, CH:X-052, and ða ða hit wolde Gode, CH:X-176. For the first of these clauses an ambiguity exists between interpretation as an independent or dependent clause. Assuming, as context suggests, that the clause is dependent, the inversion of subject and verb may be explained by the presence at the head of the clause of the adverbial for unwedre gecyrd, a process comparable to the inversion promoted in independent clauses by an initial adverbial. It has been suggested that the nature of the introductory conjunction influences the order of the elements subject and verb. Bosworth and Toller (1882-98) note the tendency that "when the word ða stands at the beginning of a clause, and may be translated by then, the verb generally precedes its subject; if it is to be translated by when, the subject generally precedes the verb". This tendency is observed in CH, where there are six examples of

clauses with initial þa which may be translated then and V-S order following, including þa gesmyrode sum mæsspreost hi mid ele þæs halgan cyðeres Stephanes, CH:II-008, and one example (above) of initial þa which may be translated when and V-S order following. However Adams (1907) believes that the principle is much more freely violated than is usually supposed. Example CH:XVII-005 is rather harder to explain. It may be significant that the verb is wæs, one which may take a complement, and that the heavy subject is placed in the position appropriate for a heavy complement. Possibly the subject was perceived as being the complement in a clause without an expressed subject.

Results from SH are similar; the order subject - verb appears as a rule, being attested in all of 130 instances. Examples with varying subject weights include:

oððæt hi gelyfdon fullice (SH:V-284)

ær ðan þe se Hælend heom onlocigendum upp to heofonum astah (SH:VII-063)

þonne þa soðan biddendras gebiddað hi to ðam Fæder on gaste and on sotðfæstnysse (SH:V-051 & 169)

The paucity of examples of verb - subject order in the Ælfric corpus is in accordance with the findings of previous studies. Thus McKnight (1897) finds only one instance of inversion in the Laws of Alfred (his sample is of 29 clauses), while Kube (1886) finds that the verb is usually final; he has three instances of inversion; the size of his sample is unclear.

The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures for the two prose types are as follows:

S - v - V (CH=20;SH=15)

þa ða he ne mihte lifes tacn aberan (CH:XI-080)

þonne we beoð gemearcode ægðer ge on foran heafde ge on heortan mid blode þære drihtenlican ðrowunge(CH:XV-058)

ær ðan þe he sylf wæs gewuldrod mid his æriste (SH:X-149)

oppæt hi ealle beon to þam Heafde gegaderode (SH:XII-211)

S - V - v (CH=35;SH=3)

ða ða his geogoð æfter gecynde woruldðing lufian sceolde (CH:IX-028)

ær ðan ðe he to heofungum soðre behreowsunge gecyrran mæge (CH:IX-119)

syððan he bebyrged wæs (SH:VI-088)

þonne ic betæhte hæbbe þas wican me fram (SH:XVI-018)

It may be seen that the subject as a rule precedes the whole of the complex verb, whatever the order of its constituents may be; it never follows the complex verb. Surprising is the paucity of examples of the order S-V-v within the rhythmic material. Presumably such constructions are unsuitable for the style of SH.

The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample from CH is of 77 clauses; from SH 44 clauses. Of the examples from CH 54 (70%) show the order O-V, and 23 (30%) that of V-O. The distribution is in part explained by the weight of the object. In tabular form the results are:

	01	02	03	
O - V	17	18	19	54
V - O	0	3	20	23
TOTAL	17	21	39	77

$\chi^2 = 18.211$ with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

01 - V

oð þæt se midheorta God eft æfter heora gedrefednyssum hi ahredde
(CH:V-251)

ða ða he hine geswutelode his leorningcnihtum æfter his æriste
(CH:XVI-142)

02 - V

siððan he papanhad underfeng (CH:IX-164)

oð þæt se preost þæt husel tobræc (CH:XV-163)

03 - V

oð þæt his lareow mid biterum tearum dreoriglice wepende ealra
ðæra cildra plegan færllice gestilde (CH:X-020)

ða ða he mid anum worde hi ealle astrehte forhte to eorðan
feallende underbæc (CH:XIV-104)

V - 02

ða ða he gelædde ðone sceaðan into heofenan rice (CH:V-138)

ða ða hi ne cuðon heora Scyppend (CH:VIII-033)

ða ða hit wolde God (CH:X-176)

V - 03

ær ðan ðe he lædde Petrum oððe his oðre apostolas (CH:V-139)

þa ða Adam geæt þone forbodenan æppel (CH:XIII-288)

Of the 44 examples from SH, 21 (48%) show O-V order, and 23 (52%)
V-O order. In tabular form the results are:

	01	02	03	
O - V	9	9	3	21
V - O	1	9	13	23
TOTAL	10	18	16	44

$\chi^2 = 12.585$ with 2 d.f.; one cell has an expected count of less than
5.0.

Examples include:

01 - V

ær þan þe God hi asent to þam gesceapenan lichaman on heora
moddra innoþum (SH:II-230)

swa oft swa ge hi dydon anum of ðisum lyttlum minra gebroðra
(SH:XI-428)

02 - V

swa oft swa ge ælmessan dydon anum lytlan ðearfan of Cristenum
mannum (SH:XI-431)

þonne we ure andgit to yfele awendað (SH:XVI-051)

03 - V

syððan he his sylfes geweold (SH:VIII-135)

þonne he his agen gescead on synnum eall aspent (SH:XVI-070)

V - 01

þa ða hi tældon hi (SH:XX-290)

V - 02

þa ða hi arærdon ða deaðan on heora Drihtnes naman
(SH:VIII-075)

ær ðam ðe man mihte þysne middaneard gebigan fram þam
hæthenscype ... to þam soðan geleafan þæs lyfigendan Godes
(SH:XVIII-349)

V - 03

þa ða he geseah heora syrwigendan geþohtas (SH:IV-097)

þa ða man acwealde þa halgan martiras huxlice mid witum for
Cristes geleafan (SH:XIV-141)

Differences may be observed between CH and SH. In SH:XX-290 a pronominal direct object falls after the verb, an order not attested in CH. This clause has subject and direct object pronouns which are morphologically identical, encouraging their separation within the clause. In SH heavy direct objects generally fall after the verb, while in CH the split is approximately even between the two positions; similarly in SH direct objects of medium and heavy weight fall after the verb as often as they precede it, where in CH the direct object falls after the verb in only a seventh of instances. As a result the order of verb - direct object predominates in SH, though not in CH.

It may be suggested that the rhythmic form favoured the order S-V-O.

The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are as follows:

O - v - V (CH=0;SH=0)

v - O - V (CH=2;SH=4)

ða ða he ne dorste Crist gefullian (CH:III-100)

þa ða he ne mihte lifes tacn aberan (CH-XI-080)

þa ða he soðlice mihte synna forbugan (SH:XI-100)

ær ðam þe man mihte þysne middaneard gebigan fram þam hæþenscype (SH:XVIII-349)

v - V - O (CH=0;SH=1)

þonne seo sunne and se mona magon syllan nan leoht (SH:XI-288)

O - V - v (CH=6;SH=0)

ða ða his geogoð æfter gecynde woruldding lufian sceolde (CH:IX-028)

ær ðan ðe he þæt folc forlætan wolde (CH:XII-056)

V - v - O (CH=0;SH=1)

þonne ic betæhte hæbbe þas wican me fram (SH:XVI-018)

V - O - v (CH=0;SH=0)

A wide range of positions for the direct object may be observed; the absence of O-v-V and V-O-v is probably due to the small sample size rather than to any specific element-order characteristic. Weight appears to have little influence on the positioning of the direct object: in CH:XIX-174 a heavy direct object falls before the whole of the verb, while in SH:XVIII-233 it falls after the verb. Stylistic considerations may influence a few of the element-orders, as for instance SH:XVI-018 (discussed above). Placing the direct object before the whole of the complex verb occurs in eight instances in CH, though this pattern is absent from SH. In this respect the rhythmic

prose displays the more modern ordering of elements.

The order of indirect object and simple verb

The sample from CH is of eight clauses; from SH eleven clauses. CH has five (62%) instances of I-V, and three (38%) of V-I.

The evidence of CH alone would indicate that the order is dependent upon considerations of weight. All of the five examples of indirect object - verb order are of light weight, as for instance:

ða ða he ða fræcednysse him foresæde (CH:X-126)

ða ða he us be wege gespræc (CH:XVI-032)

The three examples of the indirect object following the verb are of heavy weight:

swa lange swa ge dydon anum þisum læstan on minum naman (CH:VII-157)

oð þæt Drihten sylf ða digelnysse cydde eallum geleafullum æfter his ðrowunge (CH:XIV-297)

ða ða he hine geswutelode his leorningcnihtum æfter his æriste (CH:XVI-142)

The testimony of SH is rather more complex. Eight instances show I-V, and three V-I. Of the eight examples of indirect object - verb, seven have pronominal indirect objects (including for example the clause oððæt him wlatode þære gewilnunge, SH:XX-093, which it may be noted has an impersonal verb), but one, þonne he us eallum behet, SH:VII-158, has a heavy indirect object, without an obvious alliterative or stylistic motivation for this order. There are three examples of verb - indirect object order, one of which displays a heavy indirect object: swa oft swa ge his forwyrndon anum of þisum lytlum, SH:XI-450.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

The sample consists of two clauses, both from CH. The clause þa ða he sylf soðlice wearð geoffrod þam Ælmihtigan Fæder for urum synnum, CH:XII-346, shows the order v-V-I, while nu se apostol Paulus his gesihðe mannum ameldian ne moste, CH-XX-017, shows I-V-v.

The order of complement and simple verb

There are 18 examples from CH, and 12 from SH. Examples include:

C - V (CH=13;SH=5)

oð þæt he fullweaxan wæs (CH:III-016)

ær he biscop wære (CH:X-258)

þonne ge æmtige beoð (SH:XVIII-247)

þa ða he on wurðmynte wæs (SH:XVI-059)

V - C (CH=5;SH=7)

þa ða crist wæs ðritig wintra (CH:III-061)

ða ða he wæs eahtawintre cild (CH:X-007)

þonne he is þæs Fæder Word (SH:X-071)

oððæt hi wurðon clæne (SH:XI-189)

The distribution may be explained in terms of the weight of the complement. In both CH and SH all complements of medium weight are found before the verb. Heavy complements generally follow the verb; there is just one exception in clause SH:XVI-059. This may be accounted for as a syntactic gloss of the line from Psalm xlvi, which Ælfric quotes: Homo, cum in honore esset, SH:XVI-058.

The order of complement and complex verb

There are two clauses with complements and complex verbs from CH, none from SH. In both of the examples the complement precedes both parts of the complex verb: ða ða he mann wolde beon, CH:I-037, and þa ða he mann beon wolde, CH:III-004.

The order of direct and indirect objects

The sample is small, and therefore combination of the results from CH and SH is practical.

O - I (CH=6;SH=2)

ðonne ure tyddernys his worda getacnunga eow geopenað
(CH:VI-036)

oð þæt drihten sylf ða digelnysse cydde eallum geleafullum æfter
his ðrowunge (CH:XIV-297)

swa oft swa ge hi dydon anum of ðisum lyttlum minra gebroðra
(SH:XI-428)

swa oft swa ge his forwyrndon anum of þisum lytlum (SH:XI-450)

I - O (CH=1;SH=1)

þonne ic offrige gode þa liflican lac on geleaffulre cyrcan
(CH:X-299)

þonne se lareow him segð Godes gesetnyssa (SH:XX-278)

The order O-I appears to be the standard; I-O occurs only when the indirect object is lighter than the direct object. There are however instances of light indirect objects falling after heavier direct objects.

The order of single adverbial elements

The sample from the CH is of 110 clauses; from SH of 56 clauses. Of those from CH, 63 (58%) show A-V order, and 47 (42%) V-A. The

distribution may in part be explained by the weight of the adverbial:

	A1	A2	A3	
A - V	20	24	19	63
V - A	0	11	36	47
TOTAL	20	35	55	110

$\chi^2 = 29.179$ with 2 d.f..

A1 - V

ðonne þu læst wenst (CH:VII-089)

ær ðan ðe ge æfre his geleafan wiðsacan (CH:XVIII-071)

A2 - V

nu þes lama wædla buton handcræfte godes beboda gefylde
(CH:VI-201)

Donne ðu on digelnysse beo (CH:XX-190)

A3 - V

ða ða se forma cyðere Stephanus for godes geleafan gestæned wæs
(CH:V-200)

oð þæt tocwysede cild ðurh godes mihte geedcucode (CH:XI-214)

V - A2

oð þæt Cyrus feng to rice (CH:IV-223)

oð þæt Sixtus biscop com fram eastdæle (CH:XVIII-152)

V - A3

þonne he sylf sitt on his domsetle (CH:VII-141)

oð þæt drihten sylf ða digelnysse cydde eallum geleafullum æfter
his ðrowunge (CH:XIV-297)

It may be noted that adverbials of one or two words tend to precede the verb, while adverbials of three or more words tend to follow. The complete absence of adverbials of one word after the verb is striking.

Of the 56 clauses which contain single adverbials from within SH, 17 (30%) have A-V order, and 39 (70%) V-A order. In tabular form

taking into account the weight of the adverbial the distribution is as follows:

	A1	A2	A3	
A - V	5	10	2	17
V - A	1	12	26	39
TOTAL	6	24	29	56

$\chi^2 = 17.474$ with 2 d.f.; however two cells have expected counts of less than 5.0.

Examples include:

A1 - V

oððæt hi swa afligdon þone feondlican dracan (SH:XI-173)

ða ða he ærest gesceop ealle þas woruld (SH:XI-260)

A2 - V

þonne he of deaþe arist (SH:II-110)

þa ða he to him spræc (SH:VII-151)

A3 - V

þa þa he on fyres gelicnysse befeng hi ealle (SH:IX-132)

oðþæt Cyrus cyning to þam cynedome feng (SH:XXI-351)

V - A1

þonne ealle þa deadan þe on byrgenum beoð gehyrað swutellice Godes Sunu stefne (SH:VI-132)

V - A2

þa þa Moyses fæste feowertig daga (SH:II-152)

þonne ic betæht hæbbe þas wican me fram (SH:XVI-018)

V - A3

þa ða he sylfe sædon be ðam soðan Hælende (SH:VII-117)

oððæt Aaron eode ut of ðam getelde (SH:XX-271)

The results from SH are essentially similar to those obtained from CH: heavy adverbials generally follow the verb, while light adverbials

generally precede the verb. In contrast to CH there is one example of a light adverbial following the verb. All five of the instances of A1-V come from homily eleven, which fact serves as an illustration of the need for a large sample for an element-order study. I am unable to discern a special motivation for this order in this specific homily.

The order of two adverbial elements

The sample is of 34 clauses from CH and 33 from SH. In CH the order V-A-A is shown by nine (26%); A-V-A by 11 (32%); and A-A-V by 14 (42%). There is a preference for putting both adverbials before the verb; failing this at least one adverbial is usually placed before the verb, with only a quarter of examples showing two adverbials after the verb. Examples include:

V - A - A

oð þæt we becumon ðurh gehealdsumnysse godes bebeoda to ðam uplican eðele (CH:XII-193)

ða ða crist hangode on rode for ure alysednysse (CH:XIII-289)

A - V - A

ða ða micel menigu samod com to ðam hælende (CH:VI-002)

ða ða ic ðe ana forlet on ðam ðeostrum (CH:XXI-094)

A - A - V

oð þæt se midheorta god eft æfter heora gedrefednyssum hi ahredde (CH:V-251)

oð þæt hi on ende hi eft gemetað (CH:XII-498)

Of the 33 examples from SH, 16 (49%) show V-A-A, 12 (36%) A-V-A, and five (15%) A-A-V. Almost half the examples show two adverbials following the verb, while only a small minority have the two before the verb. Examples include:

V - A - A

þa ða men wæron gehælede on þam dæge fram urum Hælede
(SH:II-264)

ða ða he clypode of eorðan to his Ælmihtigan Fæder (SH:XI-527)

A - V - A

þonne we on Domes-dæg of deaðe arisað (SH:VII-159)

þa þa God ærest gesceop gesceafta þurh his mihte (SH:XII-099)

þa þa he þus gespræc to þam Nichodeme (SH:XII-218)

A - A - V

þonne he his agen gescead on synnum eall aspent (SH:XVI-070)

The positioning of one adverbial on either side of the verb occurs in about one-third of the sample from each prose type, with the two adverbials falling as a group either before or after the verb in about two-thirds of the sample. However, while in CH the two adverbials are most frequently found before the verb, in SH they usually precede the verb. The needs of alliteration may explain some instances of V-A-A in SH, for instance SH:II-264 (above), though by no means all. It may be that within SH the rhythm provided sufficient forward motion to the sentence that the brake inevitably presented by post-verbal modification by an adverb was not considered to be sufficiently strong to discourage its use.

The order of three or more adverbial elements

The sample from CH is of eight clauses. The order V-A-A-A is shown by one clause: ða ða he wacode mid hyrdemannum on felda on his geogoðe, CH:X-048) Seven clauses (87%) show the string of adverbials split by the verb. Examples include:

þonne ða ðeoda ... nu sind mid geleafan to heora scyppende gebigede (CH:VIII-106)

ða ða he on Peohtum begann to feohtenne to dyrstelice ofer

drihtnes willan (CH:X-253)

The sample of clauses from SH is five. All of these show the order V-A-A-A, including þonne þa soðan biddendras gebiddað hi to ðam Fæder on gaste and on soðfæstnysse, SH:V-051 and V-169; clause SH:VII-191 has four adverbial elements. Though the sample is small there is some evidence to suggest that there is a difference between the two prose types in the treatment of three or more adverbials within a clause. While V-A-A-A is represented by just one example in CH, it appears, so far as the limited sample size can show, to be the dominant pattern in SH.

Clause patterns

The following figures and examples may be presented:

Verb final CH=169;SH=66

ða ða he hal wæs (CH:XXI-151)

ær ðan þe he þrowode (SH:VIII-021)

Verb not final CH=107;SH=112

þa hwile ðe ðær bið gewend ænig behreowsung (CH:XX-130)

ær ðam þe man mihte þysne middaneard gebigan fram þam hæthenscype (SH:XVIII-349)

The order verb final accounts for 61% of instances in CH, and 37% in SH. The concept of verb final is not particularly useful in clauses of time, as clauses which show verb final are generally those which do not contain a heavy element. The examples of verb not final quoted above both place post verbally elements which are heavy; numerous additional examples may be found within this section. Within the element of the complex verb the word-order finite verb - non-finite verb occurs in CH in 27 instances, the reverse in 43 instances. By

contrast in SH finite verb - non-finite verb accounts for 22 instances, but the reverse just four instances. It would appear that the word-order of finite verb - non-finite verb (the modern order) predominates in SH, while the reverse order is more common in CH.

Conclusion

The subject almost always precedes the finite verb in a simple verb phrase, and the whole of a complex verb phrase. The direct object may fall either before or after the simple verb, pronouns usually preceding the verb, while a high proportion of direct objects which are heavy follow the verb. When the verb is complex considerations of weight appear to have little influence on the position of the direct object. Similarly for indirect objects: weight influences their position relative to a simple verb, but is a factor of limited importance in determining the position of this element with respect to the complex verb. The placing of the complement relative to the verb does seem to be subject to consideration of its weight. Adverbials if single tend to be placed relative to the verb in accordance with their weight. Groups of adverbials tend to be found either before or after the verb, rather than split by the verb.

Differences between CH and SH are limited. The pattern of S-V-v, which is frequent in CH, is only rarely found in SH. Heavy direct objects are as often found before the verb as after in CH, but in SH usually fall post-verbally. In the position of adverbials A-A-V predominates in CH, but in SH V-A-A is most frequently encountered.

3.3.3 - CLAUSES OF CONSEQUENCE

The sample from CH is of 374 clauses, and from SH of 236 clauses. I have chosen to take clauses of consequence as the category, rather than dividing them into clauses of purpose and clauses of result, because in Old English it is impractical to make this distinction. With the exception only of those clauses which are introduced by the conjunction þy læs (þe), and which are uniformly clauses of purpose, as for instance þy læs ðe ænig twynung eow derian mage be ðam liflicum gererode, CH:XV-006, both clauses of purpose and clauses of result are introduced by the same conjunctions, the most common of which are þæt, swa þæt and to þon þæt. The distinction is usually inferred from the mood of the verb, with the subjunctive being considered to indicate clauses of purpose, and indicative clauses of result. In addition to its practicality the concept of clauses of consequence is appropriate in that both clauses of purpose and clauses of result contemplate the end of an action. This principle is well established for Old English, particularly within German studies. Thus Glunz (1929) writes:

Der Unterschied zwischen Wunschsätzen und den Zweck-, den sogenannten Finalsätzen, ist also kein prinzipieller. So kann ic gebæd for þe, þæt ðin geleafa ne geteorige Lc XXII 32 sowohl bedeuten >ich erbat für dich, daß dein Glaube nicht wanken möge<, wie auch >ich betere (bat) für dich, damit dein Glaube nicht wanke<. ... Der Unterschied zwischen den sogenannten Finalsätzen und den Konsekutivsätzen besteht nur darin, daß jene etwas Gewünschtes, Ersehntes, Gewolltes, Begehrtes zum Inhalt haben, diese etwas nicht so Determiniertes, sondern Berichtes, interesselos Betrachtetes. Beide stimmen aber darin überein, daß sie Folgesätze sind, d. h. die Folge angeben, die sich aus einer anderen Handlung, Tätigkeit usw. ergibt.

Mitchell (1985, §§2802-2804) argues convincingly in favour of the category of clauses of consequence.

The order of subject and simple verb

The sample from CH is of 235 clauses, and from SH of 147 clauses. Of

those from CH, 234 show S-V order, and one V-S order. Examples of S-V order include:

swa þæt he mid criccum his feðunge underwreðode (CH:X-029)

þæt he ðærrihte moston into heofenan rice (CH:XXI-085)

The one examples of the order V-S is þæt gehwær stodon aweste hus geond þa burh buton bugigendum, CH:IX-092. Within this clause the adverb gehwær falls in the position which the subject might be expected to occupy, while the subject, hus, is post-verbal, preceded by a complement and followed by two adverbials. As in independent clauses it may be that the adverbial gehwær has promoted V-S order, though the strangeness of this pattern in a clause category where S-V is virtually the rule can hardly be over-stated. I suspect that this clause seemed strange to Ælfric's contemporaries; Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 198 (Ker 48; Godden's E), which dates from the first half of the eleventh century, has hus aweste (one of few examples from early manuscripts of variants in element-order), which at least places the subject adjacent to the verb. It may be suspected that Ælfric wished to avoid placing hus (neuter plural) immediately after þæt (conjunction), as such a construction could easily be misinterpreted as þæt (article, neuter single) hus (neuter singular), leading to incomprehension. If indeed this is the case it appears that Ælfric preferred to produce a clause which is stylistically weak and perhaps even offends the rules of good syntax of his day, than to write in a manner which risked confusion.

Of the 147 clauses from SH, 145 have S-V order, and two V-S order. Examples of S-V include:

þæt þa Sunderhalgan and þa sylfan boceras gebrohton an wif swa into ðam temple (SH:XIII-197)

swa þæt he wununge hæfð on heofonan rice mid þam þe he dælde and gedyde his god (SH:XVI-272)

The examples of V-S order are:

swa þæt him aeode ut eall his innoð togædere (SH:X-165)

swa þæt him ælce dæg com edniwe mete to mid þam upplicum deawe
æt heora geteldum (SH:XX-014)

Both examples have material other than the subject preceding the verb (in both the pronoun him), which is a situation which in independent clauses would be associated with V-S order. This is likely to be a contributory factor in their element-order, though cannot be the only cause as there are clauses of consequence with the order X-S-V. Example SH:X-165 might be accounted for on alliterative grounds, as his must fall in the b-line to provide an alliterative link with him in the a-line. Similarly in SH:XX-014 the subject edniwe mete must be positioned post-verbally in order to alliterate across the caesura with ælce dæg. Yet the reasoning is weak, as alternative element-orders may be advanced which do not offend the tendency to place subject before verb, and which alliterate, as for instance *swa þæt edniwe mete com him to ælce dæg. It seems more plausible that the strange element-order has been prompted by the placing of the light indirect object before the verb, its usual though not invariable position. The placing of the subject within the clause is governed by two conflicting considerations: the tendency to place the subject in initial position in these clauses, and the tendency towards increment in weight of nominal elements, whereby lighter elements precede heavier. Both these clauses have heavy subjects: eall his innoð and edniwe mete, which would be unrhythmic if placed before a light element. In these clauses Ælfric appears to be attracted by rhythm; it may be suspected that he is governed by the rhythmic requirements of the prose style of SH.

The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S - v - V (CH=88;SH=54)

þæt hi ne mihton wunian binnon ðære cyrcan æt ðan huselgange
after þæs diacones clypunge (CH:XI-351)

þæt ge magon standan ongean deofles syrwingum (CH:XII-467)

swa þæt eall þæt folc mihte geseon swyðe mycel fyr ofer ealne
þone munt mid egeslicum lige (SH:XX-029)

swa þæt heora fex furþon on þam fyre næs forswæled (SH:XXI-297)

S - V - v (CH=34;SH=21)

swa þæt he on heofonlicum eðle eardigende wæs (CH:XI-552)

þæt men for nytennyse misfaran ne sceolon (CH:XIX-002)

þæt he sweltan wolde (SH:VI-340)

swa þæt heora biggengan þa bysmorlican fylþa sceawian ne mihton
(SH:XXI-568)

As may be seen all of the instances place the subject before the whole of the complex verb, whatever the order of constituent parts of this element.

The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample from CH is of 127 clauses, and from SH of 119. Of those from CH, 72 (57%) show O-V order, and 55 (43%) V-O order. The weight of the object in part explains this distribution:

	01	02	03	TOTAL
O - V	10	31	31	72
V - O	0	11	44	55
	10	42	75	127

χ^2 is 19.857 with 2 d.f.; one cell has an expected count less than 5.0.

Examples include:

01 - V

þæt he hine Gode geoffrode (CH:IV-144)

þæt us se deað ne derige (CH:XIII-267)

02 - V

swa þæt he mid criccum his feðunge underwreðode (CH:X-029)

þæt hi ða ðing gastlice gehealdon (CH:XII-015)

03 - V

swa þæt ða gebroðru ða deofellican stemne swutellice gehyrdon (CH:XI-181)

swa þæt he na ma gecynda siððan ne gesceop (CH:XII-281)

V - 02

swa þæt heo oferstihð middaneard (CH:XI-539)

V - 03

swa þæt se halga wer oferseah ealne middanearde (CH:XI-525)

þæt ða sceortan witu ðises geswincfullan lifes forscyttan ða toweardan (CH:XIX-260)

The weight of the direct object clearly influences its distribution, all pronouns falling before the verb (as well as most direct objects of medium weight) but less than half of those of heavy weight. Of those direct objects which fall after the verb, 80% are heavy.

Of the 65 clauses from SH, 38 (58%) have O-V order, and 27 (42%) V-O order. The distribution may in part be explained by the weight of the direct object:

	01	02	03	TOTAL
O - V	11	6	21	38
V - O	2	7	18	27
	13	13	39	65

$\chi^2 = 4.815$ with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

01 - V

þæt hi hi gefrefrodon for heora broður deaðe (SH:VI-048)

þæt we hit sylfe gebeton ær ure geendunge wið ðone ælmihtigan God (SH:XX-302)

02 - V

þæt hi deaðe ætbærston (SH:VI-147)

þæt we ða maran eac mid weorcum gefyllan (SH:XV-106)

03 - V

swa þæt he his engel asende of heofonlicum þrymme (SH:II-018)

þy læs þe þe sum þing wyrse gelimpe (SH:II-056)

V - 01

þæt we habban hy eft be hundfealdum us sylfum (SH:XVI-159)

þæt he het hi godas (SH:XXI-673)

V - 02

þæt he mid ceorunge forsawon þone mete (SH:XX-105)

swa þæt hi worhton wolice him godas (SH:XXI-080)

V - 03

swa þæt he syþþan ne gesceop nane oþre gesceafta (SH:II-221)

þæt we swa ne gegremion God ælmihtigne nu mid urum yfelum þeawum (SH:XX-394)

The examples from SH show a general similarity with CH - for instance overall percentages for O-V and V-O order irrespective of weight are virtually identical - but some important differences in detail. There are two examples from SH of pronominal direct objects following the verb. It is probably significant that in both of the instances the personal pronoun is the third person plural, morphologically identical in its nominative and accusative form. By placing these after the verb, Ælfric makes clear by element-order that the pronoun is the direct object, ensuring easy comprehension by his audience. An interesting contrast is provided by SH:VI-048, where the two personal pronouns hi (subject) and hi (direct object) are placed

together before the verb. Direct objects of medium and heavy weight fall before and after the verb in roughly equal numbers. It appears that the direct object was an element which could readily be moved to suit the requirements of the alliterative form. In SH:XXI-080 godas has been placed post-verbally, so that him, which provides the alliteration in the b-line, does not occur on the final stress, while in SH:II-018 engel has been positioned pre-verbally in order to alliterate with Ælmihtigan; the form *asende his engel would make the verb asende the alliterative word, which is unsatisfactory, as Ælfric rarely admits weakly stressed syllables (as for example initial a- in asende) into his alliterative scheme. In addition there may be a difficulty in allowing a finite verb into the alliterative scheme, for in Old English verse it is usually excluded as an alliterative word.

The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

O - v - V (CH=0;SH=6)

þæt he his god sceolde swiðe him fram aspendan (SH:XVI-006
and XVI-089)

þæt he hit nele gehyran (SH:XX-408)

v - O - V (CH=17;SH=6)

for ði þæt he wolde us to his rice gebringan (CH:I-030)

swa þæt se halga wer and his gebroðra ne mihton for ðam
ormætan gyte heora fet of ðære cytan astyrian (CH:XII-504)

þæt heo syððan sceolde wið swylce þing hy gehealdan
(SH:XIII-229)

þæt we magon hi awendan to weorcum þe eað (SH:VIII-015)

v - V - O (CH=18;SH=13)

þæt us bið geopenod heofonan rice æfter urum fulluhte
(CH:III-111)

þæt ic wolde towurpan þa ealdan æ (CH:XII-169)

þæt us ne bið forloren forðon þæt læste hær on urum lichaman
(SH:VII-160)

þæt we sceolon witan hwilc word (SH:IX-075)

O - V - v (CH=11;SH=7)

þæt he hi mid his handa gefon mihte (CH:XI-047)

þæt hi hit earfoðlice ateon mihton (CH:XVI-117)

þæt hy þæt ece life mid him habban mihton (SH:VII-134)

þæt hi þæt halige scrin ham ferialan magon (SH:XXI-262)

V - O - v (CH=0;SH=0)

V - v - O (CH=0;SH=2)

þæt we habban moton þa heofonlican wununge mid him sylfum æfre
(SH:VIII-007)

þæt he fordyttan mihte þa idelan spræca (SH:XV-184)

Five of the six theoretical positions of the direct object relative to the complex verb are attested. Most common is the direct object following the whole of the complex verb (33 instances); direct objects here tend to be heavy. There are 24 instances of direct objects preceding the whole of the complex verb; here the direct objects tend to be light, though there are some notable exceptions, as for instance þæt ece life in SH:VII-134, probably explicable on alliterative grounds. A substantial contingent - 23 instances - fall within the complex verb phrase; this position is far more common in CH than SH. It would be a false ingenuity to try to interpret in detail these differences. Though weight and stylistic considerations doubtless play there part, the overwhelming picture is one of relative freedom in the placing of the direct object relative to the complex verb.

The order of indirect object and simple verb

The sample is of 28 clauses from CH, and 29 from SH. Of those from CH, 27 show the order I-V, and one V-I. Examples of I-V include:

þæt him man sumne mæssepreost gelangode (CH:II-038)

þæt ðu us þæs mynstres gebytlu dihtan sceoldest (CH:XI-317)

The example of V-I is: þæt he forgeafe godne willan þam seocan hæðenan, CH:II-030. This clause has a heavy indirect object, though this cannot be considered the sole motivation for the element-order, as heavy indirect objects may be found before the verb, as for instance in CH:II-038. Rather the element-order appears explicable in terms of a stylistic device when the clause is viewed within its context: ... þæs eadigan Stephanes þingum gebæde to ðan Ælmihtigan þæt He forgeafe godne willan þam seocan hæðenan þæt he leng ne elcode to his geleafan The indirect object of one clause, þam seocan hæðenan is picked up by the subject he of the following clause, the two separated only by the conjunction þæt. The effect is to facilitate the interpretation that he does indeed refer to þam seocan hæðenan, not to þæs eadigas Stephanes, the subject of the first clause, or He, the subject of the second. Ælfric's concern is to ensure ready comprehension.

Of the 29 clauses from SH, 19 (66%) show I-V order, and 10 (34%) V-I. Examples include:

I - V

þæt hi him wæstmas ageafon godra weorca (SH:III-091)

þæt he us forgife ure synna þurh þæt (SH:XIII-105)

V - I

þæt we habban hy eft be hundfealdum us sylfum (SH:XVI-159)

þæt hi manega sawla of mancynne gestrynan þam welwillendan Hælende (SH:XVIII-156)

The testimony of SH differs markedly from CH in that the category of verb - indirect object is well represented. To a limited extent weight may play a part in the positioning of the indirect object; there are however numerous exceptions. While the majority of indirect objects before the verb are light, heavy indirect objects may occasionally be found in this position, as þæt we yfele bysne oðrum mannum ne syllon

on ænigre wohnysse oþþe anwilnysse, SH:IX-078. Post-verbal indirect objects are generally of medium or heavy weight. The possibility of the rhythmic and alliterative style influencing the position of the indirect object cannot be discounted, though there are few obvious examples. Rather it would appear that in SH the considerations governing element-order are different from those found in CH; it is difficult to avoid gaining the impression that Ælfric is writing in two different syntactic styles.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

Examples and figures are as follows:

I - v - V (CH=1;SH=3)

þæt us bið geopenod heofonan rice æfter urum fulluhte (CH:III-111)

þæt us ne bið forloren forðon þæt læste hær on urum lichaman
(SH:VII-160)

v - I - V (CH=1;SH=0)

þæt Godes rice bið eow ætbroden (CH:V-046)

v - V - I (CH=3;SH=0)

þæt gehwa sceolde agildan ðam casere þæt him gebyreð (CH:IV-253)

I - V - v (CH=1;SH=0)

þæt ðu us þæs mynstres gebytlu dihtan sceoldest (CH:XI-317)

It may be seen that the indirect object shows considerable flexibility in its position. Five examples - over half - place the indirect object before the whole of the finite verb. These instances all have indirect objects of light or medium weight. One instance of light weight places the indirect object between the finite and non-finite verb. The three examples which place the indirect object after the verb are of heavy weight.

The order of complement and verb

The sample from CH is of five clauses, and from SH of 15 clauses. Of those from CH, all show the order V-C. Examples include:

þæt he is wedla (CH:VI-046)

þæt ge sind gebroðra (CH:XIX-066)

Of the 12 examples from SH, eight (67%) show V-C order, and four (33%) C-V. Examples of V-C include:

þæt ge ne beon gehefegode (SH:II-062)

þæt he ys þreora cynna (SH:VI-161)

Within this group of eight clauses are two of doubtful interpretation. Both SH:II-062 (above) and the clause þæt we mid Godes gife beon ymbscrydde wiðinnan, SH:XVI-239, may arguably contain a passive verb phrase.

Examples of C-V include:

þæt he unmihtigre wære on his mægenþrymme (SH:X-161)

þæt we unhearmgeorne beon (SH:XVI-252)

These examples may be interpreted in terms of the constraints of the style of SH. In SH:X-161 placing the complement post-verbally would create a line rhythmically awkward, as the a-line stress would be required to remain on -mihte- to satisfy the alliteration, which syllable would be preceded by four weakly stressed syllables. Example SH:XVI-252 too may be accounted for on alliterative grounds; in the line Healdan we þas þeawas þæt we unhearmgeorne beon the b-line alliterative syllable -hearm- should fall on the first stress of that line.

There are no instances of clauses of this type with complement and complex verb.

The order of direct and indirect objects

The sample from CH is of 12 clauses, and from SH of 16 clauses. Of those from CH, nine (75%) show I-O order, and three (25%) O-I order. Of the 16 examples from SH, nine (62%) show I-O, and six (38%) show O-I. Examples of I-O order include:

- þæt he ðam ungelæredum folce lifes weig tæhte (CH:X-098)
 þæt he him geswutelode hwæt se Benedictus wære (CH:XI-453)
 þæt he him wæstmas ageafon godra weorca (SH:III-091)
 þæt he us forgife ure synna þurh þæt (SH:XIII-105)
 þæt he geuðe us andgites and gesceades swa swa þam englum
 (SH:XVI-042)

Examples of O-I order include:

- þæt he forgeafe godne willan þam seocan hæðenan (CH:II-030)
 þæt he lichamlicne bigleofan þam hungrian Danihele brohte
 (CH:XI-331)
 þæt hi manega sawla of manncynne gestrynan þam welwillendan
 Hælende (SH:XVIII-156)
 þæt hi swa fule menn him fundon to godum (SH:XXI-161)

The order of single adverbials and the finite verb

The sample from CH is of 165 clauses; from SH of 136 clauses. Of those from CH, 89 (54%) have the order A-V, and 76 (46%) that of V-A. The weight of the adverbial in part explains this distribution:

	A1	A2	A3	TOTAL
A - V	34	24	31	89
V - A	5	21	50	76
TOTAL	39	45	81	165

$$\chi^2 = 25.354 \text{ with 2 d.f..}$$

Examples include:

A1 - V

þæt heo eall tosprang (CH:XI-035)

swa þæt he wealhreawlice wurde ahangen (CH:XIV-196)

A2 - V

þæt heo on blode fleow (CH:XVIII-149)

swa þæt he na ma cynna on mannum ne gesette (CH:XII-291)

A3 - V

þæt se mihtiga God on urum mode wunige (CH:XIX-039)

þæt his heorte mid ðære biternysse beo gehreþod (CH:XX-222)

V - A1

þæt ne mihte nan læcewyrþ awiht geliðian (CH:X-038)

þæt se casere sceolde ðæron becuman (CH:XVIII-025)

V - A2

þæt seo wracu wære on him wunigende (CH:XIV-206)

þæt we beon gecigede swa gesæliglice ures scyppendes frynd
(CH:XIX-050)

V - A3

þæt he gehwylcum deme be his ærran dædum (CH:XVII-087)

swa þæt his sculdor and his hleor wurdon ontende mid þam
witniendlicum fyre (CH:XX-207)

General tendencies may be discerned: light adverbials tend to precede the verb, while heavy adverbials tend to follow. However there are many exceptions; clearly the positioning of the adverbial is relatively free.

Of the 136 clauses from SH, 52 (38%) have A-V order, and 84 (62%) V-A. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the adverbial the distribution is:

	A1	A2	A3	TOTAL
A - V	29	14	9	52
V - A	21	27	36	84
TOTAL	50	41	45	136

$\chi^2 = 14.897$ with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

A1 - V

þæt he micclum werode mihtiglice rixige (SH:II-245)

þæt he ða heofonlican pund holdlice dæle (SH:XVI-292)

A2 - V

þæt me heonon forð ne þyrste (SH:V-032)

þæt he of heofenum astah (SH:XII-217)

A3 - V

þæt he manega menn mid his lare gefeng (SH:XIV-221)

þæt we on ðam lande ne licgan ofslagene (SH:XX-168)

V - A1

þæt seo halige þrynnysse ne beo swa geunwurðod (SH:XII-090)

swa þæt hi worhton wolice him godas (SH:XXI-080)

V - A2

þæt hy mihton wyrcean sume wrohte be him (SH:XIII-207)

þæt we gelyfon on God (SH:XIV-068)

V - A3

þæt he unmihtigre wære on his mægenþrymme (SH:X-161)

swa þæt he his engel asende of heofonlicum þrymme (SH:II-018)

As is the case with the sample from CH the position of the adverbial may be seen to be subject to the tendency to place light adverbials before the verb and heavy adverbials after. However while in CH this tendency is strong in the case of the light adverbials and weak in that of the heavy adverbials, in SH the reverse is true. Presumably the explanation lies within the area of rhythmic requirements, where a heavy adverbial before a verb could provide a significant check on the forward motion of the rhythm, while a light adverbial may be

placed either before or after the verb without fundamentally altering the flow of the clause.

The order of two adverbials

The sample from CH is of 39 clauses; from SH of 46 clauses. Of those from CH, 14 (36%) show V-A-A, 13 (33%) show A-V-A, and 12 (31%) show A-A-V. Of the 46 clauses from SH, 26 (57%) show V-A-A, 14 (30%) A-V-A, and six (13%) A-A-V. Examples include:

V - A - A

þæt hi setton wæterfatu on flora æt heora gebeorscipum
(CH:IV-079)

swa þæt he getimbrode on ðære stowe þurh Cristes fultum twelf
mynstru (CH:XI-089)

þæt he ortruwian sceole be Godes mildheortnysse for þam
manfullum geðohtum (SH:VI-287)

þæt nan mann ne sceole ceorian ongean God mid dyrstigum anginne
(SH:XX-079)

A - V - A

þæt gehwa for his synnum unrotsyge mid soðre dædbote
(CH:XII-518)

þæt seo halige gelaðung eac gesceapen wurde ðurh þa gerynu
ðære readan wunde (CH:XIV-324)

þæt we mid Godes gife beon ymbscrydde wiðinnan (SH:XVI-239)

þæt we her swulton on ðysum westene (SH:XX-311)

A - A - V

swa þæt hi butan leafe mid sumum eawfæstum wife hi gereorodon
(CH:XI-226)

þæt hi rihtlice for heofonan rice leofodon (CH:V-158)

þæt Godes æ on us swa beo gefylled (SH:II-205)

þæt he æfre Gregorie to biscope wearð gehalgod (SH:XXI-643)

Within CH clauses with two adverbials occur in roughly equal

numbers in the three positions exemplified. In SH however there is a marked tendency to prefer two adverbials to be placed post-verbally rather than for the two adverbials to occur in the pre-verbal position. It would appear that SH avoids placing pairs of adverbials pre-verbally, just as it avoids placing a heavy adverbial in this position, presumably because such a construction would place a break on the forward movement of the clause, and prove unrhythmic.

The order of three or more adverbial elements

The sample from CH is of 13 clauses, one of which (CH:XVI-166) has four adverbial elements. Two clauses have the order V-A-A-A; five A-V-A-A; one A-A-V-A; and six A-A-A-V. Examples include:

V - A - A - A

þæt hi ne mihton wunian binnon ðære cyrcan æt ðan huselgange
æfter þæs diacones clypunge (CH:XI-351)

A - V - A - A

þæt eal middaneard eft wurde astyred þurh Cristes ðrowunge to
soðum geleafan (CH:XIV-292)

A - A - V - A

þæt hi sume eft ut berstað ðurh wiðercorennyse and leahtrum
heora ðwyran lifes (CH:XVI-166)

A - A - A - V

þæt hi heononforð ongean þe naht ne magon (CH:XX-236)

The sample from SH is of thirteen clauses, seven of which have three adverbials following the verb, and eight of which have the order A-V-A-A (two have four adverbials, with one before the verb and three or four after, as þæt hi mid him ricsian on heofonan rice on lichaman and on sawle gesæliglice æfre, SH:XVIII-422. Examples of V-A-A-A include þæt hy underfon eow on eowrum forðsiðe to him on ðam ecum eardungstowum eft, SH:XVI-260, and of A-V-A-A include þæt

eall se Cristendom on Cristes gelaðunge wearð þurh hy ahræred mid
þæs Hælendes fultume, SH:XIV-232.

While CH displays a range of adverbial positions for clauses with three or more adverbials, more than half of which show at least two adverbials before the verb, SH never has more than one adverbial before the verb, and in almost half of the instances places all three adverbials after the verb. What may be a tendency to avoid a break to rhythm and sense incurred by pre-verbal modification by adverbials may be seen within SH, though it is absent from CH.

Clause patterns

Figures and examples for verb final and verb not final are as follows:

Verb final CH=148;SH=76

þæt ðu God ondrædst (CH:IV-147)

þæt we his willan gewyrcean moton (SH:XVI-294)

Verb not final CH=227;SH=160

þæt he cuðe sumne man on Romebyrig (CH:VI-169)

þæt he his god sceolde swiðe him fram aspendan (SH:XVI-006)

Verb final accounts for 39% of instances in CH, and 32% in SH. The incidence of verb final to a great extent correlates with the weight of elements within the clause, though in the greater frequency of O-V and I-V orders (in comparison with non-conjoined independent clauses) some evidence of the postponing of the verb may be found. Heavy elements (and many elements of medium weight) are often placed post-verbally. This is illustrated by the two instances quoted above, by numerous examples from within this section, and additionally by such clauses as those which follow. In þæt ic wolde towurpan þa ealdan, CH:XII-169, a direct object of medium weight

follows the verb, in þæt nan man name his cildra hlaf, CH:III-264, two objects, both of medium weight.

Instances of the order finite verb - non-finite verb (as for example ðy læs ðe ænig twynung eow derian mage be ðam liflican gererode, CH:XV-006) total 95 in CH, 57 in SH; the opposite order accounts for 36 instances in CH and 21 in SH. The proportions are roughly equal in the two prose types.

Conclusion

From the above it may be seen that the subject generally precedes the finite verb, and the whole of the complex verb. The direct object may fall either before or after the finite verb, and with considerable variation in position in relation to the complex verb, its placing dependent in part at least upon the weight of the direct object. In the positioning of the indirect object and finite verb differences may be observed between CH and SH: in CH indirect objects almost always fall before the verb, while in SH a substantial number fall after the verb. Considerations of alliteration and rhythm are not adequate to explain this difference. The position of adverbials shows much freedom, though important differences may be observed in a tendency for SH to avoid pre-verbal position for heavy one-word adverbials or adverbial groups. Other differences which may be observed between the two prose types are the tendency for direct object position to correlate strongly with its weight for CH, but only weakly for SH, the position of the direct object in SH responding to alliterative requirements, while the order v-O-V may be noticed as being more common in CH than in SH.

3.3.4 - CLAUSES OF CAUSE

The sample from CH is of 189 clauses, and from SH of 198 clauses. The majority of these clauses are introduced by a for formula. There are no examples of for alone as a causal conjunction, but rather for is followed by þam, þam, þan, þon, þi or þy. The for-formula may on occasions be preceded by a negative, as for instance na for ði ðe him neod wære æniges fulluhtes (CH:III-091).

Liggins (1955) offers a discussion of Ælfric's prose style as exemplified by causal constructions. She writes:

"His work is full of examples of his individual preferences - his avoidance of forþam þæt and of the conjunction þy (except after a correlating comparative), his use of forþy þæt (otherwise recorded only in twelfth century Anglo-Saxon Chronicle), his normal preference of forþam þe to forþam ..." [p. 537].

Liggins notes that forþam is frequently met with in Wulfstan's homilies; a position which may be contrasted with its infrequent occurrence in Ælfric. Similarly mid is rare in Ælfric as a causal conjunction, though common elsewhere in the Old English corpus. On element-order, Liggins states that it is "normally direct" (p. 528), and suggests three possible causes of inversion: a negative particle, a prepositional phrase, and "certain types of adverb" occurring at the head of the clause. I take the view that Liggins is wrong in suggesting that a negative particle promotes inversion in a clause of cause. However I do view Liggins' work as useful in discussing some aspects of the syntax of causal clauses.

The order of subject and simple verb

The sample from CH is 131 clauses, and from SH 174 clauses. In CH the order S-V is found in 127 (97%); V-S in four (03%). Examples of

S-V order include:

for ðan ðe we understandað þæt gastlice andgit þæra boca
(CH:VIII-110)

for ðan ðe his gifu gewissað ða gecorenan symle to soðfæstnysse
and to lifes bebodum (CH:XII-013)

Examples of the order V-S are:

for ðan þe on Criste wunað eal gefyllednys ðære godcundnysse
lichamlice (CH:I-168)

for ðan ðe on nontide asihð seo sunne (CH:V-098)

for ðan ðe Him is an wuldor gemæne and an godundnyss mid ðam
Halgum Gaste (CH:XIII-174)

for ðan ðe on ðisum dæge ferde Godes folc fram Egypta lande
ofer ða Readan Sæ fram ðeowte to ðam behatenan earde
(CH:XV-325)

Of these four clauses, example CH:XIII-174 is readily explained as an instance of verb second (X-V-S), where the placing of an element other than the subject before the verb has promoted inversion. In addition, however, Him, which functions as the theme of the clause is in a position appropriate to the subject. The three remaining clauses all have the order causal conjunction, prepositional phrase, verb, subject. These clauses are explicable in terms of Liggins' observation that prepositional phrases cause inversion. Stylistic factors may also have a part to play. Thus, for instance, clause CH:V-098 appears to imitate the element order of for ðam ðe on midne dæg bið seo sunne on ðam ufemestrum ryne stigende, CH:V-095, which places the subject seo sunne after the finite verb (though it precedes the participle stigende). It may be noted that the order V-S in CH:V-098 and v-S-V in CH:V-095 exemplify the same phenomenon with respect to the positioning of the subject relative to the finite verb.

Of the 174 clauses from SH, 168 (97%) show S-V order, and six

(03%) V-S order. Examples of S-V order include:

for ðon þe he oft gespræc wið hy on bigspellum (SH:XVI-003)

for þam ðe hi ne beoð ealle on ane wisan geworhte (SH:XVIII-191)

Examples of V-S order include:

for ðan ðe us secgað bec (SH:XI-179)

for þan þe him synd swiðe laðe þa leahterfullan biggengan
(SH:XXI-509)

These instances of V-S may be explained on stylistic grounds. Thus for example SH:XXI-509 would offend alliteration were it to place laðe as the last stress in the b-line (which is usually non-alliterative), which would be the position were þa leahterfullan biggengan to be fronted. Similarly inverting secgað and bec in SH:XI-179, where the line is for þan þe us secgað bec þæt he hit sceole ðicgan, would place secgað, the alliterative word, in what may be a weakly stressed position.⁶ However in a half line which begins with four weakly stressed syllables (for þan þe us) the reader's inclination is to place stress on the subsequent syllable, secgað, which it is appropriate therefore that Ælfric should make his alliterative syllable. It is unusual for a verb to alliterate, and it would be particularly strange for a verb which is weakly stressed to alliterate. It may be suggested that Ælfric has chosen to preserve the alliterative pattern by departing from the usual element-order. Though the resulting clause may well have sounded somewhat strange to the homily's original audience, it could in this instance scarcely be misinterpreted.

⁶ Though according to Kuhn's Law secgað would be unstressed in us secgað bec but stressed in us bec secgað (the reverse of the position here assumed) there is no reason to suppose that this law may be applied to Ælfric's prose.

The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are as follows:

S - v - V (CH=39;SH=15)

for ði þæt Crist wæs gefulod on Iohannes fulluhte (CH:III-194)

for ðan ðe he nolde hine sylfne cyðan (CH:III-048)

for ðan þe Iesus is Hælend gecweden (SH:VIII-062)

for ðan þe hi nabbað innfær to heofonum (SH:XII-107)

v - S - V (CH=6;SH=0)

for ðan þe on ðisum dæge weaerð Crist mancynne geswutelod (CH:III-001)

for ðam ðe on Greciscum gereorde is wæter geciged ydor (CH:IV-052)

v - V - S (CH=1;SH=1)

for ðan ðe him is sinderlice betæhte hydræden ofer eallum Cristenum mannum (CH:XVI-173)

for þan þe on me is afunden ætforan Gode rihtwisnyss (SH:XXI-331)

S - V - v (CH=1;SH=4)

for ðan ðe þes draca me forswelgan wile (CH:XI-384)

for ðan ðe he oferswiðed wæs (SH:XI-176)

for ðan þe ða lareowas hwilon us læran sceolon (SH:XIV-073)

The majority of subjects are placed before the whole of the complex verb (which in most cases is of the form finite verb - non-finite verb). Of the three examples which place the subject after the whole of the complex verb, CH:XVI-173 may be interpreted as an example of theme preceding rheme. The context is Petrus teah þæt net to lande for ðan ðe him is sinderlice betæht hydræden ofer eallum Cristenum mannum ...; the causal clause commences with an indirect object, him, which refers back to Petrus, establishing the theme of the clause; new information is added in the form of the rheme hydræden ofer eallum Cristenum mannum which, though syntactically the subject,

falls in the post-verbal position appropriate for the topic. Example SH:XXI-331 constitutes an unusually long line within the rhythmic prose; the alliterative pattern adopted is that which Pope (1967) represents as xaay, as opposed to the anomalous xaya which would otherwise result. A consequence of the uncharacteristic element-order may have been to place special emphasis on the final word, rihtwisnyss, which is appropriate for the sense.

The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample is of 50 clauses from CH, and from SH of 58 clauses. Of those from CH, ten (20%) have the order O-V, and 40 (80%) the order V-O. The distribution may in part be explained by the weight of the direct object:

		01		02		03		
O - V		2		2		6		10
V - O		2		12		26		40
		4		14		32		50

$\chi^2 = 2.567$ with 2 d.f.; one cell has expected count less than 5.0; the approximation is probably invalid.

Examples include:

01 - V

for ðan þe nan man us ne hyrde (CH:V-082)

for ðan ðe he þurh his ræd and sande us fram deofles biggengum
ætbræd (CH:IX-004)

02 - V

for ðan ðe þu þas dæde dydest (CH:IV-153)

for ðan ðe heo urne fultum mid inweadre heortan sehð
(CH:VIII-061)

03 - V

for ðan ðe he ða halgan gelaðunge him to bryde geceas

(CH:IV-030)

for ðan ðe he ealle ðing eallunge wiste (CH:XIV-005)

V - 01for ðan ðe he underfehð us into ecere reste fram ðisum
andweardum geswince (CH:V-215)

for ðan ðe hi ne lufiað hine (CH:XIX-041)

V - 02

for ðan þe þu ne forlætst mine sawle on helle (CH:I-197)

for ðan þe se stream berð aweg Placidum (CH:XII-098)

V - 03

for ðan ðe he lufað þone glædan syllend (CH:XII-373)

for ðan ðe ge nyton Godes digelan domas (CH:XX-127)

The tendency for verb - direct object order is well attested, with 80% of examples showing this pattern; this general picture masks some underlying trends. Though the majority of direct objects of medium and heavy weight fall after the verb, the alternative position is represented, while the few instances of pronominal direct objects divide equally between pre-verbal and post-verbal position.

Of the 58 examples from SH, 19 (33%) show O-V order, and 39 (67%) V-O order. The distribution may in part be explained by the weight of the direct object. In tabular form the results are:

		01		02		03	
O - V		6		9		4	19
V - O		5		5		29	39
		11		14		33	58

$\chi^2 = 15.068$ with 2 d.f.; 2 cells have expected counts less than 5.0.

Examples include:

01 - V

for ðam ðe þu me gehyrdest (SH:VI-093)

for ðan þe Crist hy ahret (SH:XIV-205)

02 - V

for ðan þe se Halgan Gast þurh his godcundnysse his gife eow
forgifð (SH:X-116)

for þan ðe hi God tældon (SH:XX-290)

03 - V

for þan þe se ælmihtiga God ealle þing gesceop (SH:II-214)

for þon þe heo ealle þing afet (SH:XXI-089)

V - 01

for ðam ðe þæt folc hæfde hine for witegan (SH:III-167)

for ðan þe ge lufedon me (SH:VIII-040 and 213)

V - 02

for ðan þe hi awendon þa heora mod to Gode mid maran geleafan
(SH:VIII-083)

for ðan þe se Halga Gast aþwyhð þone hæþenan fram eallum his
synnum on þam soðan fulluhte (SH:XII-093)

V - 03

for ðan þe he hæfð ofer þa unrihtwisan micelne ealdordom
(SH:VII-174)

for ðan þe se Hælend ne afunde nateshwon on Iudea lande swa
fela gelyfedra manna (SH:XIV-182)

The pattern observed here is less clear than for CH. Post-verbal positioning for the indirect object predominates, though accounting for only 67% of examples (compared with 80% in CH). Heavy direct objects show a tendency to follow the verb; the small sample for direct objects of other weights indicates that pronouns fall in roughly equal numbers before and after the verb, while those of medium weight are most frequently encountered pre-verbally.

SH offer an example of a heavy object which is split into two groups and placed on either side of the verb: for þam ðe he þæt leoht gesihþ þyses middaneardes, SH:VI-345.

The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

v - O - V (CH=10;SH=9)

for ðan þe ge ne magon me heonon forð habban (CH:XI-085)

for ðan ðe he wolde his lichaman forlætan (CH:XIV-220)

for ðan þe manega magon maran ræd findan (SH:IX-034)

for þan ðe se ælmihtiga God ... nolde him win sendan on þam
westene þa (SH:XX-024)

v - V - O (CH=0;SH=3)

for ðan þe nu is gedemed þam yfelan ealdre þises middaneardes
(SH:VII-022)

for ðan þe ða lareowas þe Godes folc lærað bisceopas and
mæssepreostas ne moton forlæton þa halgan Godes wican þe God
hym betæhte for nanne costnunge (SH:XIV-202)

O - V - v (CH=1;SH=0)

for ðan ðe þes draca me forswelgan wile (CH:XI-384)

V - v - O (CH=0;SH=1)

for þam ðe hi wyrcan sceoldon gode wæstmas Gode swa swa god
wineard (SH:III-062)

The results are reasonably uniform. Nineteen examples place the direct object between finite and non-finite verb, while four place it after and one before the whole of the complex verb. The rationale for placing the direct object either within the complex verb or after the complex verb is explicable in most instances in terms of weight, with light direct objects dividing the verb, and heavy following. Inevitably there are exceptions, as for instance SH:IX-034, where a heavy direct object divides the verb phrase, which may have arisen as a result of alliterative necessity, as maran forms the b-line alliterative word, and needs to be positioned so that the first b-line stress falls on it.

The order of indirect object and simple verb

The sample from CH is four clauses, and from SH 19 clauses. From CH all four examples are of I-V order, including:

for ðan ðe he ða liflican bodunge on his andwerdnysses hæðenum
leodum bedigelode (CH:VIII-052)

for ðan ðe him is sinderlice betæht hydræden offer eallum
Cristenum (CH:XVI-173)

Of the 19 examples from SH, nine (47%) show I-V order, and ten (53%) V-I order. Examples include:

I - V

for ðan þe ic eow þis sæde (SH:VII-011 and 039)

for ðan þe Godes lar and lareowas us secgað (SH:XIV-173)

V - I

for ðam ðe he geopenode us infær to heofonum mid his agenum
upstige (SH:XI-052)

for ðan þe he wel wyle eallum welwillendum (SH:XIV-218)

Heavy indirect objects appear to be placed only after the verb, as seen for instance in SH:XIV-218; indirect objects of light and medium weight occur both pre-verbally and post-verbally.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

I - v - V (CH=1;SH=0)

for ðan ðe him is sinderlice betæht hydræden ofer eallum
Cristenum mannum (CH:XVI-173)

v - I - V (CH=2;SH=1)

for ðan þe on ðisum dæge wearð Crist mancynne geswutelod
(CH:III-001)

for ðan ðe he nolde hine sylfne mannum cyðan (CH:III-048)

for þan ðe se ælmihtiga God ... nolde him win sendan on þam
westene þa (SH:XX-024)

v - V - I (CH=1;SH=0)

for ðan ðe heo wæs geswutelod on ðisum dæge mannum
(CH:XVIII-002)

I - V - v (CH=0;SH=1)

for ðan þe ða lareowas hwilon us læran sceolon (SH:XIV-073)

Weight plays some part in determining the position of the indirect objects: the two instances of indirect objects before the whole of the complex verb (CH:XVI-173 and SH:XIV-073), for example, are both pronouns, though a pronoun may fall within the complex verb as CH:VII-127. The similarity of substance of CH:III-001 and CH:XVIII-002 may be noted, together with their different element-orders, which presumably reflect a difference of emphasis.

The order of complement and verb

There are 31 clauses from CH in this sample, and 47 from SH. Of those from CH, all have the order V-C, including:

for ðan ðe hit bið twylic (CH:III-260)

for ðan ðe hit bið on æghwylcum menn ansunde æfter ðære
ungesewenlican mihte (CH:XV-151)

Among the 47 clauses from SH, 35 (74%) show V-C and 12 (26%) show C-V. Examples of V-C include:

for ðan þe se cyning is Cristes sylfes speligend ofer ðam
Cristenan folce (SH:IX-048)

for ðan þe woroldmen þyssere worlde bearn syndon micele
snoteran on heora cynrene (SH:XVI-032)

Examples of C-V include:

for ðan þe he milde is (SH:XV-227)

for þam þe he cucu næs (SH:XXI-548)

Examples of C-V reflect stylistic constraints resulting from the special form of SH. In the clauses above milde and cucu are alliterative b-line words with the penultimate stress falling upon them.

The order of the objects

The sample from CH is of one clause, and from SH of nine clauses. The one clause from CH is for ðan ðe he ða liflican bodunge on his andwerdnysses haeðenum leodum bedigelode, CH:VIII-052, which has the order of direct object before indirect object.

Of the nine clauses from SH, six have I-O order, and three O-I. Examples of I-O order include:

for ðan þe ic eow þis sæde (SH:VII-011 and 039)

for ðam ðe he geopenode us infær to heofonum mid his agenum upstige (SH:XI-052)

Examples of O-I order include:

for þam ðe hi wyrcean sceoldon gode wæstma Gode swa swa god wineard (SH:III-062)

for ðan þe se Halga Gast þurh his godcundnysses his gife eow forgifð (SH:X-116)

It appears that there is a preference for placing the direct object before the indirect object when their weights are either the same, as in CH:VIII-052, or where the direct object is just one step heavier than the indirect object, as in SH:III-062 and SH:X-116.

However there is also a tendency to prefer a gradient in the weight of nominal elements, which may be suggested as the explanation for the orders observed in SH:VII-011 (and VII-059) and SH:XI-052.

The order of single adverbials and the verb

The sample from CH is of 107 clauses; from SH of 65 clauses. In CH, the order A-V is found in 32 (30%) clauses, and V-A in 75 (70%) clauses. The distribution may in part be explained by element weight:

		A1		A2		A3		
A - V		13		11		8		32
V - A		14		23		38		75
		27		34		46		107

$\chi^2 = 7.820$ with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

A1 - V

for ði ðe he næfre nane synne ne geworhte (CH:III-092)

for ðan ðe he ealle ðing eallunge wiste (CH:XIV-005)

A2 - V

for ðan ðe on nontide asihð seo sunne (CH:V-098)

for ðan þe agenslaga on ecnysse ðrowað (CH:XIV-161)

A3 - V

for ðan ðe on Greciscum gereorde is wæter geciged ydor
(CH:IV-052)

for ðan ðe he ða liflican bodunge on his andwerdnysse hæðenum
leodum bedigelode (CH:VIII-052)

V - A1

for ðan þe se Fæder wæs æfre God (CH:I-009)

for ðan ðe him is sinderlice betæhte hydræden ofer eallum
cristenum mannum (CH:XVI-173)

V - A2

for ði þæt he wolde getacnian mid þam (CH:III-154)

for ðan ðe he Godes halgan hynde mid witum (CH:XVIII-117)

V - A3

for ðan ðe hi ne mihton beon gehealdene þurh Iohannes fulluhte (CH:III-211)

for ðan ðe he ofaxode æt ðam lareowum his hæle (CH:IX-221)

There are 65 clauses in SH with a single adverbial, 17 (26%) of which show A-V order, and 48 (74%) V-A. The distribution may in part be explained by the weight of the adverbial. In tabular form:

	A1	A2	A3	
A - V	9	4	4	17
V - A	8	16	24	48
	17	20	28	65

$\chi^2 = 8.750$ with 2 d.f.; one cell has an expected count less than 5.0.

Examples include:

A1 - V

For ðan þe he ða ferde (SH:X-137)

for þan þe hy getreowlice tilodon heora hlaforde (SH:XVI-278)

A2 - V

for ðam ðe þa ærran for ylde ateoriaþ (SH:II-237)

for ðan þe he of minum þa þing underfehþ (SH:VII-029 and 219)

A3 - V

for ðan þe his gifu is on godes halgum wunigende (SH:VII-222)

for ðan þe þa Iudeiscan mid dyrstigum anginne ælcne geutlagodon (SH:XII-051)

V - A1

for þan ðe se Hælend wyle us gehealdan æfre (SH:IV-202)

for þam þe he cymð færlice (SH:XVIII-008)

V - A2

for ðan þe hi ne gelyfað on me (SH:VII-085)

for ðan ðe he is gehaten Godes hand on bocum (SH:IV-165)

V - A3

for ðan þe se cyning is Cristes sylfes speligend ofer ðam Cristenan folce (SH:IX-048)

for ðan þe ða lareowas þe Godes folc lærað bisceopas and mæssepreostas ne moton forlætan þa halgan Godes wican þe God hym betæhte for nanre costnunge (SH:XIV-202)

No significant difference may be seen between CH and SH. In both, one-word adverbials fall with equal frequency before and after the verb, while two-word and three-word adverbials tend to fall after the verb.

The order of two adverbial elements

There are 37 clauses from CH and 34 from SH with two adverbial elements. Of those from CH, 26 (70%) have the order V-A-A, five (15%) that of A-V-A, and five (15%) A-A-V. Examples include:

V - A - A

for ðan ðe he underfehð us into ecre reste fram ðisum andweardum geswince (CH:V-215)

for ðan ðe hi underfengon ða halgan mænsumunge, æt Gode ðurh his ðeowan Benedicte (CH:XI-358)

A - V - A

for ðan ðe ða halgan lareowas hwilon spræcað be ðam Ælmihtigan Fæder and His Suna hwilon swutollice embe ðære Halgan ðrynnysse (CH:IV-072)

for ðan þe he fram fyrmðe middaneardes oð his geendunge ne ablinð to asendenne bydelas and lareowas to lærenne his folc (CH:V-053)

for ðan ðe on midne dæg bið seo sunne on ðam ufemestrum ryne stigende (CH:V-095)

A - A - V

for ðan ðe ðam luste and geswencednysse naht eaðe on anum
 timan ne gewyrð (CH:VI-104)

for ðan ðe heo ær ðon eawfæste leofode (CH:X-146)

Of the 34 clauses with two adverbials in SH, 19 (56%) have V-A-A order, eight (23%) A-V-A, and seven (21%) A-A-V. Examples include:

V - A - A

for ðam ðe þa Iudeiscan noldon næfre brucan nanes þinges mid
 þam hæthenum (SH:V-124)

for ðan þe se Halga Gast aþwyhð þone hæþenan fram eallum his
 synnum on þam soðan fulluhte (SH:XII-093)

A - V - A

for ðan þe ic nu fare up to minum Fæder (SH:VII-020 and 162)

for þan þe Zacheus swa wæs gerihtwisod þurh þæs Hælendes tocyme
 (SH:XVI-182)

A - A - V

for ðan þe ge fram anginne mid me wunedon (SH:IX-011 and 151)

for ðan þe he snotorlice wið hine sylfne gedyde (SH:XVI-031)

for þam ðe hi æfre ær on synnum wunedon (SH:XVIII-221)

In both CH and SH the order of two adverbials preceding the verb occurs relatively infrequently.

The order of three adverbial elements

The sample from CH is of ten clauses; from SH of 17. In CH the order V-A-A-A is the most common with five examples; A-V-A-A has three; A-A-V-A two; and A-A-A-V one. In addition there is one clause with four adverbials, one preceding the verb, and three following. Examples include:

V - A - A - A

for ðan ðe Crist wæs ða gyt stille betwux mannum (CH:III-046)

A - V - A - A

for ðan ðe seo halige ðrynnys gecundelice wunað on anre
godcundnysse æfre an God untodæledlic (CH:XIII-187)

A - A - V - A

for ðan ðe se unwæra on ende oft modegað on godum weorcum
(CH:XII-536)

A - A - A - V

for ðan ðe hi fram anginne middaneardes oð Cristes tocyme on
hellicere clysunge andbidodon (CH:V-151)

A - V - A - A - A

for ðan ðe on ðisum dæge ferde godes folc fram Egypta lande
ofer ða Rædan Sæ fram ðeowte to ðam behatenan earde (CH:XV-325)

Of the 17 clauses with three or more adverbials in SH, 13 show
V-A-A-A, five A-V-A-A, and one of each of A-A-V-A and A-A-A-V.
Examples include:

V - A - A - A

for ðam þe he færð of þysum frecenfullan life to ðam ecan deaðe
for hys endeleasum synnum (SH:VI-316)

A - V - A - A

for ðon þe he oft gespræc wið hy on bigspellum (SH:XVI-003)

for þan ðe we æfre habbað ealle þing þurh hine ge on ðyssere
worulde ge on ðære toweardan (SH:XX-136)

A - A - V - A and A - A - A - V

for ðon þe hi on eorðan embe God þa smeadon (SH:X-045)

for ðam þe se ylca Gast þurh his godcundnysse swa swa ælmihtig
Wealdend swiðe wide todælp his gastlican gifa ofer Godes folce
(SH:IX-117)

The examples with three or more adverbials within a clause indicate
the great flexibility of adverbial positioning. A tendency to prefer
post-verbal modification may be observed.

Clause patterns

The following figures and examples may be presented for verb final and verb not final:

Verb final CH=36;SH=46

for ðan ðe we geseoð (CH:V-196)

for þan ðe hi God tældon (SH:XX-290)

Verb not final CH=151;SH=152

for ðan ðe hi ne magon lange mid us wunian (CH:VI-044)

for ðan þe se an Fæder is æfre unbegunnen (SH:VI-232)

Verb final accounts for 19% of instances in CH, and 23% in SH. It is clear that verb final cannot be regarded as the base order for clauses of this type.

Conclusion

The subject generally precedes the single finite verb or the whole of the complex verb, the few exceptions being a result of a special syntactic environment or, occasionally, a stylistic device. Direct objects generally follow the finite verb; this tendency is violated more frequently in SH than CH. Similarly, in clauses with a complex verb, direct objects usually either divide the verb phrase, or follow the whole of the verb; their occurrence before the whole of the complex verb is infrequent. Weight plays a part in the positioning of indirect objects, as it does with the placing of indirect objects relative to the verb, and relative to one another. Post-verbal position for the indirect object is more common in CH than in SH. Complements generally follow the verb. The position of the adverbial is relatively free, though showing the influence of a tendency to place light

adverbials pre-verbally, and heavy adverbials post-verbally.

3.3.5 - CLAUSES OF COMPARISON

There are 225 clauses from CH and 243 from SH in the corpus. The introductory conjunctions þonne, swa, swa swa, and swilce are frequently encountered. Much useful background for clauses of comparison is contained within Mitchell (1985), including arguments for the rejection of subdivision of this category (§§3202-3204), which have been followed here.

The order of subject and simple verb

There are 170 clauses from CH, and 193 from SH, in this sample. Of those from CH, 160 (94%) show S-V order, and 10 (06%) V-S order. The distribution is in part influenced by the weight of the subject, as may be seen in tabular form:

	S1	S2	S3	TOTAL
S - V	68	45	47	160
V - S	0	6	4	10
TOTAL	68	51	51	170

$\chi^2 = 8.443$ with 2 d.f.; however three cells have expected counts less than 5.0.

Examples include:

S1 - V

swa swa he ær on life geearnode (CH:III-283)

Swilce he cwæde (CH:XIII-119)

S2 - V

swa swa Matheus awrat (CH:XIV-280)

swa swa Drihten him to cwæð ðriwa æt ðisum ylcan gererode
(CH:XVI-174)

S3 - V

swa swa þæt Israhela folc besawon to ðære ærenan næddran
(CH:XIII-278)

ðe ma ðe ænig fugel his flihtes gewylt (CH:XIX-089)

V - S2

swa swa wæron ða apostoli (CH:III-219)

swa him demde seo ta (CH:XIV-237)

V - S3

swa swa wære ða ðry gelyfedan cnihtas Sidrac Misac Abdenago þe Nabochodonosor gesette him to weorcgeretan (CH:IV-250)

Post-verbal positioning of the subject only occurs when the subject is of medium or heavy weight. It may on occasions be explained by grammatical necessity, as at CH:IV-250 where the subject is qualified by the following adjectival clause, with the result that only a complete restructuring of the sentence could avoid this order. Example CH:XVII-072 shows a particularly heavy subject following the verb; it may be suggested that the heavy subject promotes its positioning post-verbally. In addition the indirect object him functions as the topic of the clause, the heavy subject serving as comment; on this level the observed order may be seen to be natural for the sense. Similarly in CH:XIV-237 him should be regarded as the topic referring back to the subject of the previous clause ða cwelleras, while the monosyllabic subject ta functions as the comment. The observed order of CH:III-219 is open to explanation on stylistic grounds. The sentence commences Sume lareowas sindon beteran ðonne sume swa swa wæron ða apostoli ..., in which a parallel appears between sindon beteran ðone sume and wæron ða apostoli, both nominal elements following a part of the verb beon. Specific reasons for post-verbal positioning may be offered for all instances without resort to the concept of emphasis. Nonetheless it should be observed that once the regular order of elements has been disrupted the possibility of emphatic force must arise. I suggest this is particularly illustrated by CH:XIV-237, where it is easy to imagine a priest choosing to express his disgust at the division of Cristes reaf by a

particular emphasis of the delayed subject ta.

An example of a divided subject is found in swa swa se witega cwæð Isaias, (CH:V-043), where Isaias is appositive to the subject.

Of the 193 examples from SH, 178 (92%) show S-V and 15 (8%) V-S. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the subject the distribution may be seen as follows:

	S1	S2	S3	TOTAL
S - V	85	52	41	178
V - S	0	9	6	15
TOTAL	85	61	47	193

$\chi^2 = 12.947$ with 2 d.f.; two cells with expected counts less than 5.0.

Examples include:

S1 - V

swa swa we ræddan lyttle ær (SH:II-247)

swilce swa ðu wyrcest (SH:XII-006)

S2 - V

swa swa Paulus cwæð on sumum his pistole to þam geleaffullum mannum (SH:XVIII-148)

swa swa Danihel awrat (SH:XVIII-234 and 278)

S3 - V

swa swa se ælmihtiga God ær Moysen bebead (SH:XI-024)

swa swa þæt ealde folc dyde on þam westene þa (SH:XX-395)

V - S2

swa swa us cyþað bec (SH:XVI-183 and SH:XXI-646)

swa swa hym wissode God (SH:XVIII-016)

V - S3

swa swa us sæde se witega Isaias on his witegunge (SH:V-212)

swa swa us swiðost segð Iohannes gesetnys on þære feorðan Cristes bec (SH:IX-128)

In numerical terms the similarity between SH and CH is apparent, for, as in CH, post-verbal position of the subject occurs only when

the subject is of medium or heavy weight, and then is infrequent. Alliterative considerations in most cases provide an adequate explanation for all these instances, though it should be pointed out that the resulting constructions presumably appeared to be good English. The specific grammatical explanations which may be offered for instances of verb - subject in CH do not appear appropriate for SH.

The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S - v - V (CH=8;SH=12)

swa swa hi wæron þurh oðra manna synna geniðerade (CH:III-259)

swa swa se fulfremeda wæstm bið on fulre strencoðe þeonde (CH:V-096)

swa he wære gehæfde (SH:II-023)

swa swa ge magon understandan (SH:XVIII-314)

S - V - v (CH=14;SH=7)

swa hit gecweden is (CH:XII-033)

swa swa hit awriten is be ðan geleaffullan werode (CH:XV-238)

swa swa he geled wæs (SH:VI-102)

swa swa man stieran sceal (SH:XX-240)

The position of the subject before the whole of the complex verb appears as a rule.

The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample from CH is of 41 clauses, and from SH of 25 clauses. Of those from CH, 21 (51%) show O-V order, and 20 (49%) V-O order. The distribution may in part be explained by the weight of the direct object:

	01	02	03	TOTAL
0 - V	4	8	9	21
V - 0	0	7	13	20
TOTAL	4	15	22	41

$\chi^2 = 4.772$ with 2 d.f.; however two cells have expected counts less than 5.0. Combining 01 and 02, $\chi^2 = 2.020$ with 1 d.f..

Examples include:

01 - V

swa swa seo cyrclice þenung us manað to heofunge (CH:V-260)

swa lange swa ge me sylfum his forwyrndon (CH:VII-172)

02 - V

swa swa se Ælmihtiga God ða his folc ahredde wið þone cyning pharao (CH:XII-180)

swa swa he ðam oðrum gemynte (CH:XVIII-026)

03 - V

swilce hi ðone liflican blæd forðræstne acwellon (CH:VI-096)

swa swa se apostol Paulus ða geleaffullan ðeode þisum wordum tihte (CH:XVI-075)

V - 02

swa swa scephyrd toscæt scep fram gatum (CH:VII-135)

Swa swa Moyses ahof ða næddran on ðam westene (CH:XIII-239)

V - 03

swa swa he dyde þæt Chananeisce mæden (CH:VIII-044)

þonne he cepte woruldlice herunga oððe þises lifes hlisan (CH:XI-024)

It may be seen that all pronominal direct objects fall before the verb, while direct objects of medium weight fall with equal frequency before and after the verb, and direct objects of heavy weight are most frequently encountered post-verbally. The sample is small however, and these observations must be treated with caution. Some instances bear discussion: CH:XI-024, with a particularly heavy direct object, shows the expected position for an element of such weight, while CH:VII-135 shows a stylistic device in separating scepherde and scep by the verb. There is a tendency to place the direct object together with a single adverbial: in CH:XVI-075 both precede the

verb, while in CH:XIII-239 both follow the verb. The overall position is one of considerable flexibility in position.

Of the 25 clauses from SH, 14 (56%) have O-V order, and 11 (4%) V-O order. In tabular form, taking into account the weight of the direct object the distribution is as follows:

	01	02	03	TOTAL
O - V	4	9	1	14
V - O	1	5	5	11
TOTAL	5	14	6	25

$\chi^2 = 5.326$ with 2 d.f.; four cells with counts less than 5.0 invalidates the result. Restructuring by combining 01 and 02 $\chi^2 = 4.957$ with 1 d.f.; two cells have expected counts less than 5.0.

Examples include:

01 - V

swa swa hi hine bædon (SH:XX-323)

swa swa hi hi on æfen forleton (SH:XXI-413)

02 - V

swylce he leahtras onscunige (SH:XIII-177)

swa swa þu fixas fenge (SH:XIV-038 and XIV-216)

03 - V

swa swa He þas þry deadan þurh his drihtenlican mihte to life arærde (SH:VI-211)

V - 01

swa swa ða englas geseoð hine soðlice nu (SH:VIII-178)

V - 02

swylce hy hluttrion þone stut (SH:XIII-168)

swa swa he ær gefeng fixas mid his nettum (SH:XIV-223)

V - 03

Swa swa God gesceop on sawle and on lichaman ge wæpmen ge wifmen (SH:XI-312)

swa swa we healdað þone halgan Sunnandæg fram woruldlicum weorcum (SH:XVIII-340)

The figures for SH reveal a clearer picture than for CH. Pronominal

direct objects generally precede the verb, while heavy direct objects generally follow; direct objects of medium weight are most often found pre-verbally. The element-order of SH:VIII-178 seems to me strained; furthermore the clause forms a line in which geseoð alliterates with soðlice, unusual as finite verbs tend not to carry the alliterative stress. This is perhaps not Ælfric in the rôle of great prose-stylist. By contrast SH:VI-211 does, in my view, show Ælfric utilising the flexibility afforded by the syntax to produce a stylistically successful clause, one which functions by means of a steady increase in intensity: subject He, direct object þas þry deadan, a topic already established, two adverbials which pre-modify the verb avoiding the brake inevitably applied by post-verbal modification, and the clause's climax reached in the verb arærde, heavily emphasised. What follows is anti-climactic (perhaps explaining manuscript uncertainty at this point). The position of direct objects of medium weight appears relatively free, and therefore enables alliterative needs to play a major part. Thus for example SH:XIV-038 and XIV-216 in the line (in both cases) þu fehst men heonan forð swa swa þu fixas fenge needs fixas to fall on the first b-line stress to form the alliterative link with forð; *fenge fixas would be weak alliteration across the caesura as finite verbs tend to be excluded from the alliterative scheme.

The order of direct object and complex verb

There are no examples of direct objects in clauses which contain complex verbs from CH, and just two from SH, both of which show the order finite verb - non-finite verb - direct object. The examples are swa gedafenað to ahebbene on sumere heahnesse þone mannes Sunu, SH:XII-040, and þonne sceal Daniel sweltan deaðe, SH:XXI-385.

The order of indirect object and simple verb

The sample is of 38 clauses from CH, and 47 from SH. Of those from CH, 27 have the order I-V, and one that of V-I. Examples of I-V order (with indirect objects of varying weights) include:

swa swa ða wimmen him sædon (CH:XVI-017)

swa swa se Ælmihtiga God Abrahame sæde (CH:XII-036)

swa swa se eadiga IOB us eallum bysnode (CH:XIX-252)

The one example of V-I is swa se halga wer sæde þam mædene be hire gebroðrum, CH:X-257. This exceptional instance is difficult to explain; possibly some stylistic distance is being placed between se halga wer and þam mædene by placing the verb between them.

Of the 47 clauses from SH, 41 (93%) have I-V order, and six (7%) V-I. Examples include:

I - V

swilce he þam seocan sæde þisum andgite (SH:II-188)

swa swa he Gode behet (SH:IV-238)

swa swa he þam eallum behet ... on rihtwisnyse and on rihtum geleafan (SH:VIII-009)

swa swa ðis godspell us segð (SH:X-134)

swa swa he him on life behet (SH:XI-526)

V - I

swa swa we sædon eow ær (SH:V-113)

swa swa he dyde Lazarum (SH:VI-298)

swa swa he mildsað us (SH:XIII-137)

Weight does not appear to be a significant factor in explaining the distribution; it may be seen that instances of V-I for each weight of indirect object constitute about one-fifth of the total for that element weight. This is reflected in the low value for χ^2 . Presented in tabular

form the result is:

	I1	I2	I3	TOTAL
I - V	36	4	1	41
V - I	5	1	0	6
TOTAL	41	5	1	47

$\chi^2 = 0.393$ with 2 d.f; however as three cells have expected counts less than 1.0 the χ^2 approximation is probably invalid.

Rather than weight, the incidence of V-I as opposed to I-V reflects alliterative requirements. Thus for example in SH:V-113 the line is pær com of Samarian byrig, swa swa we sædon eow ær, where the order I-V is required in the clause of comparison to avoid the alliterative sædon forming the second b-line stress. The same point may be made for SH:VI-298 where the line is and hyne Drihten arærð, swa swa he dyde Lazarum, with alliterative dyde falling as the first b-line stress, and for SH:XIII-137, the line being pæt we sceolan mildsian, swa swa he mildsað us, in which once again an alliterative word, mildsað, serves as the first b-line stress.

The order of indirect object and complex verb

The sample is of three clauses, all from CH, and all placing the indirect object before the whole of the complex verb. These are:

swa swa him beboden wæs (CH:III-026 and XI-039)

swa him geðuht wæs (CH:XI-198)

swa swa him on swefene æteowod wæs (CH:XI-324)

All examples feature pronominal indirect objects, with the result that it is not possible to determine the influence of weight upon order. The small sample indicates that the indirect object usually falls before the whole of the complex verb.

The order of complement and verb

The sample from CH is of six clauses, of which five have the order C-V, and one that of V-C. Examples of C-V order include:

swilce he buton hefe wære (CH:XI-193)

swa swa him gecynde wæs (CH:XVIII-035)

The example of V-C order is swa swa seo culfre is buton geallan, CH:III-172; this may reflect a parallel with the order beon plus complement shown in the preceding clause and beo butan biternysse, CH:III-171.

The sample from SH is of three clauses, all of which have the order C-V, for instance swa swa hit fullcuð is, SH:XI-111 and XIV-114.

There are no examples of complements in clauses with complex verbs.

The order of the direct and indirect objects

The sample from CH is of one clause, which shows I-O order: Buton ge forgifon mannum heora gyltas, CH:XX-077, the objects falling in order of ascending weight. There is one clause from SH, which has the order I-O: swilce he þam seocan sæde þisum andgite, SH:II-188; the two objects are here of equal weight.

The position of single adverbial elements

The sample from CH is of 78 clauses, of which 48 (62%) show the order A-V, and 30 (38%) the order V-A. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the adverbial the results are:

	A1	A2	A3	TOTAL
A - V	21	15	12	48
V - A	0	8	21	29
TOTAL	21	23	33	77

$\chi^2 = 22.251$ with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

A1 - V

þonne ðær gedon wæs (CH:III-117)

þonne ðær genamode wæron (CH:XII-489)

A2 - V

swa swa Petrus to Drihtne gecwæð (CH:VI-161)

swa swa we lytle ær eow sædon (CH:XX-210)

A3 - V

swa micclum swa ge mare for Godes willan swincað (CH:IX-179)

swa swa heora mod on annysse symle Gode ðeowode (CH:XI-520)

V - A2

swa swa He sylf cwæð to Moysen (CH:XIII-213)

swa swa se Hælend sealde hine sylfne for us (CH:XIX-080)

V - A3

swa swa seo sunne deð ymbe þære ðriddan tide (CH:V-093)

swa swa hi sylfe dydon on heora heortum (CH:XVI-046)

The distribution of the adverbials clearly shows the influence of their weight as a factor in determining their order. No one-word adverbials follow the verb, and only around a third of two-word adverbials are in this position, while almost two-thirds of adverbials of three words (or more) occur post-verbally. Included within this last category are such exceptionally heavy adverbials as ymbe þære ðriddan tide, CH:V-093.

From SH the sample is of 74 clauses, of which 24 show A-V, and 50 V-A. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the adverbials the results are:

	A1	A2	A3	TOTAL
A - V	17	5	2	24
V - A	16	11	23	50
TOTAL	33	16	25	74

$\chi^2 = 22.251$ with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

A1 - V

swa swa hit wel gerist (SH:XI-547)

swa swa he ær dyde (SH:XXI-596 and XXI-623)

A2 - V

swa swa he him on life behet (SH:XI-526)

swa swa þis godspell on æfterweardum sægð (SH:XV-141)

A3 - V

swilce we on þisum life swincon (SH:II-182)

swa swa ure Drihten be þam deofle gecwæp (SH:IV-220)

V - A1

swa swa we sædon ær (SH:V-279)

swa swa he dyde syððan (SH:VII-055)

V - A2

swa swa we leorniað on bocum (SH:II-228)

swa God foresceawode on ær (SH:XI-259)

V - A3

swa he sylf sæde on sumon godspelle (SH:VI-131)

swa swa seo Cristes boc us cyð be þam ylcan (SH:XVIII-226)

The majority of heavy adverbials fall after the verb. Of the two exceptions, SH:IV-220 constitutes a line of the rhythmic prose, with Drihten alliterating with the first b-line stress, deofle, which circumstance may explain its order. For SH:II-182 I am unable to suggest an explanation, though it may be observed that were the clause to occur within CH it would scarcely be necessary to seek a special motivation, as a substantial proportion of heavy adverbials do

fall in this position. Two-word adverbials fall after the verb in approximately two-thirds of instances, while single-word adverbials occur in roughly equal numbers before and after the verb. The differences between CH and SH are marked, and suggest that the two types of prose may have followed different criteria in the positioning of adverbials.

The order of two adverbial elements

The sample from CH is of 22 clauses, and from SH of 20. In CH the order V-A-A is shown by 9 (41%) clauses; A-V-A by five (23%); A-A-V by eight (36%). Examples include:

V - A - A

swa swa Crist sylf cwæð be sumon rican menn on his godspelle
(CH:VII-087)

swa swa Beda se snotera lareow awrat on Historia Anglorum be
sumum ðegene (CH:XXI-142)

A - V - A

Swa swa se Ælmihtiga God ða his folc ahredde wið þone cyning
pharao (CH:XII-180)

swa swa he ær dyde on þam westene (CH:XV-195)

A - A - V

swilce he ðurh wyrhtan on wingeardes biggencge swunce
(CH:V-070)

swa swa nan man nu lichamlice don ne mot (CH:XII-163)

The patterns seem to be a result at least in part of the weight of the adverbials, with heavy adverbials most often following the verb, and light adverbials most often preceding.

Of the 20 clauses from SH, 12 (60%) have V-A-A, and four (20%) each of A-V-A and A-A-V. Examples include:

V - A - A

swa swa ða englas geseoð hine soðlice nu (SH:VIII-178)

swa swa ge gehyrdon her on þisum godspelle (SH:IX-095)

A - V - A

swa swa us swiðost segð Iohannes gesetnys on þære feorðan Cristes bec (SH:IX-128)

swa swa we nu ræddon on þissere rædinge (SH:XVIII-398)

A - A - V

swa swa we her beforan sædon (SH:VI-198)

swa swa he þas þry deadan þurh his drihtenlican mihte to life arærde (SH:VI-211)

The results are similar to those for CH in that a tendency to group adverbials either before or after the verb is observed. Of note is the high proportion (nearly two-thirds) which place both adverbials after the verb.

The order of three or more adverbial elements

The sample from CH is of four clauses, and from SH of seven. Of those from CH, two show the order V-A-A-A, and two A-A-V-A. Examples include swa swa hi næron næfre ær on life, CH:XIV-177 (for A-A-V-A) and swa swa hit gefyrn ær gesæd wæs ðurh ðæs cildes muð, CH:X-249 (for V-A-A-A).

Of the seven clauses from SH, three show V-A-A-A order, two A-A-V-A, and one each of A-V-A-A and A-A-A-V. Examples include:

V - A - A - A

swa swa he dyde ær þurh hyne sylfne on his andweardnysse (SH:VI-326)

A - V - A - A

swa swa se Hælend her him sylf sæde nu on þisum godspelle (SH:X-195)

A - A - V - A

swa swa Moyses on þam micclan westene þa næddran up ahof to

healicum tacne (SH:XII-038 and XII-219)

A - A - A - V

swa swa on Loðes dagum eft syððan gelamp (SH:XVIII-017)

Combining the samples from CH and SH it may be seen that five of the eleven clauses place all three adverbials after the verb, indicating tendencies to avoid extensive pre-verbal modification by adverbials, and to avoid splitting adverbial groups.

Clause patterns

Figures and examples for verb final and verb not final are as follows:

Verb final CH=137;SH=119

swa swa se Ælmihtiga het (CH:XII-392)

swa swa we ær ræddon (SH:VIII-204)

Verb not final CH=76;SH=104

swa swa he dyde ær his ðrowunge (CH:XVI-144)

swa swa he habban wolde to ðam heofonlican life (SH:II-107)

Verb final accounts for 64% of instances in CH, and 53% in SH. Elements which follow the verb tend to be heavy (as for instance the heavy adverbials quoted above), though light elements may on occasions be found.

Conclusion

The order subject - verb predominates in both simple and complex verb clauses. Direct objects may fall either before or after simple verbs, their position being in many instances explicable in terms of their weight. Greater freedom in the positioning of direct objects may

be observed in SH as a response to alliterative requirements. Indirect objects usually precede simple verbs, as do complements. The paucity of complex verbs in clauses containing direct or indirect objects, or complements, makes it difficult to draw any conclusions here; similarly there are few examples containing both objects, or a direct object and a complement. Adverbials show greater flexibility in their position. In CH adverbials most frequently precede the verb, while in SH they most frequently follow. In both prose types adverbial weight is a factor determining their position. Noticeable in clauses of comparison is a tendency towards placing the verb in the final position in the clause; this is most apparent in CH where adverbials as well as nominal elements generally occur pre-verbally, and less apparent in SH where adverbials favour a post-verbal position. It may be that in SH the historical movement away from verb final in clauses of this nature may be observed.

3.3.6 - CLAUSES OF CONCESSION

There are 64 clauses from CH and 46 from SH in this section. The majority of clauses are introduced by peah (pe). The subjunctive is usual in clauses with this head, though as Behre (1934) finds (p. 122):

"... peah does not 'require' or 'take' the subjunctive. The indicative, though rare, may be used in peah-clauses to represent a fact as more or less conflicting with the idea expressed in the main clause".

In the field of element-order there has long been general agreement that subject - verb prevails in clauses of concession. Thus, for example, Kube (1886) finds only "direct" order, while Smith (1893) finds no instances of inversion in Orosius, and just one in Homilies. Surprisingly little further information has been provided.

The function of the introductory form swa hwæt swa may be investigated with reference to clauses SH:X-013 and SH:X-082, the first appearing in the sentence:

Se halga Frofor gast þe min Fæder asent
on minum naman eow, he eow tæcð ealle þing,
and eow ealle þing geswutelað, swa hwæt swa ic eow secge.
(SH:X-011/013).

There is some doubt as to whether such a clause is appropriately classified as concessive; indeed Mitchell (1985, §3462) doubts the concessive value of swa hwæt swa, though he notes the opinion of scholars who express contrary views (§§3438-9, 3459-60). In the particular instance from Ælfric it seems to me that a concessive reading of swa hwæt swa accords best with the sense of the passage, and I have analysed it accordingly, though the possibility of alternative interpretations must be considered.

The order of subject and simple verb

The sample from CH comprises 36 clauses, and from SH 44 clauses. All have the order S-V. Examples include:

þeah ðe heo cild hæfde (CH:I-083)

þeah ða gecorenan godes cempa sind feawa geðuhte on
andwerdum life betwux flæsclicum mannum (CH:V-191)

þeah ðe hit naht ne fremige (SH:XI-272)

þeah ðe heora fæderas noldon (SH:XX-373)

The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S - v - V (CH=5;SH=1)

þeah ðe he endenext on Godes rice sy geendeburd (CH:V-181)

ðeah ðe he sceolde samod mid him sweltan (CH:XIV-077)

þeah ðe hi sume noldon of ðam Iudeiscum his lare underfon
(SH:XII-180)

S - V - v (CH=8;SH=0)

þeah ðe heo on Englisc awend sy (CH:IX-011)

þeah ðe þis godspel æt oðre mæssan gerædd sy (CH:XVI-039)

In all cases the subject precedes the whole of the complex verb. This corresponds with the observed order of subject and simple verb.

The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample from CH is of 15 clauses, and from SH of three. Of those from CH, 14 show O-V order, and one V-O order. Examples of O-V with varying direct object weights include:

þeah ðe he hit geðyldlice forbære (CH:IV-180)

þeah ðe he sylf nænne stæf ne cuðe (CH:VI-179)

ðeah ðe hi man forseo (CH:XIX-124)

The one example of V-0 is þeah ðe he bruce brades rices, CH:XIII-078. The direct object is heavy, which may go some way towards explaining the order, though there are six examples of heavy direct objects falling before the verb. On the evidence of other adverbial clauses I am inclined to view the position of the direct object as relatively free.

Of the three clauses from SH, two have O-V order. The examples of O-V are:

þeah þe hi þa gehyron (SH:II-081)

þeah ðe ure yfelnyss him oft abelge (SH:II-239)

Also showing O-V order but excluded from these figures is the clause swa hwæt swa ic eow secge, SH:X-013, which is an inappropriate example, for the direct object swa hwæt swa must be clause initial.

The one example of V-0 is þeah þe he abite his gebroðra on ær, SH:XXI-109. Here the direct object is of medium weight, which may be the motivation for post-verbal position, as is attested in other types of adverbial clauses. The order selected for this clause parallels the adverbial clause with V-0 at SH:XXI-106, which is appropriate in view of the affinity of subject matter between the two clauses.

The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples include:

v - O - V (CH=1;SH=1)

ðeah ðe he gyt wolde þas niwan gecuðnyss eft awendan
(CH:XII-460)

þeah ðe hi sume noldon of ðam Iudeiscum his lare underfon
(SH:XII-180)

O - V - v (CH=1;SH=0)

ðeah ðe se ungelæreda þæs gelyfan ne cynne (CH:XII-214)

The sample is not large enough to draw conclusions.

The order of indirect object and verb

There are five clauses from CH and four from SH in this category; all show I-V order, including þeah ðe God him bebude, CH:XV-273. Of the four clauses from SH, all show I-V order, including swa hwæt swa ic eow secge, SH:X-013 and X-082. There are no instances of indirect objects in clauses with complex verbs.

The order of complement and verb

There are five clauses from CH and 17 from SH in this sample. Of those from CH, all show C-V order. Examples include:

þeah ðe heo mannun unðancwurðe sy (CH:IX-144)

þeah þe he deað si (CH:VI-059 and VI-357)

Of the 17 clauses from SH, 14 have C-V order, and three V-C order. Examples of C-V include:

þeah he synfull si (SH:VI-292)

þeah ðe he unsynnig wære (SH:XI-017)

Twelve of these examples of C-V order have the verb (beon, si, wære or wæron) in final position; the two exceptions, ðeah ðe he him hefig wære her on life æror, SH:XI-253, and þeah þe se mæssepreost manfull beo on life, SH:XII-086 both have an adverbial following the verb. Examples of V-C order include þeah ðe he ær wære lama on his life, SH:XI-322. In this instance alliterative considerations may have influenced the position; the medium weight of the complement can

hardly be considered a sufficient motivation.

The order of the objects

The one clause of concession with two objects (excluding SH:X-013, discussed above) is ðeah ðe we Godes bebodu mannum geopenian, CH:XII-454, which has O-I order.

The position of single adverbial elements

The sample from CH is of 26 clauses, and from SH of 20. In CH the order A-V is shown in 20 (77%); V-A in six (23%). The weight of the adverbial in part explains the distribution, as may be seen in tabular form:

	A1	A2	A3	
A - V	6	6	8	20
V - A	3	0	3	6
TOTAL	9	6	11	26

$\chi^2 = 2.442$ with 2 d.f.; however four cells have expected counts less than 5.0.

Examples include:

A1 - V

ðeah ðe se unsið hire swa gelumpe (CH:X-147)

þeah ðe ða heafodmen hearde wiðcwædon (CH:XIV-307)

A2 - V

þeah ðe heo on Englisc awend sy (CH:IX-011)

ðeah ðe heo on holte weoxe (CH:XVIII-058)

A3 - V

þeah ðe he mid eallum mægne wiðerigende wære (CH:IX-096)

ðeah ðe he ealne middaneard to his anwealdum gebige(CH:XIX-234)

V - A1

ðeah ðe he gyt wolde þas niwan gecyðnysse eft awendan

(CH:XII-460)

ðeah ðe hit beo wiðinnan awend (CH:XV-108)

V - A3

ðeah ðe he sceolde samod mid him sweltan (CH:XIV-077)

ðeah ðe hi leohtlice mettas him on muð bestigon on swilcum fæsten
dagum (CH:XIX-291)

The majority of adverbials precede the verb; of the six which follow, three are heavy, while, perhaps surprisingly, three are of light weight. In CH:XV-108 the adverbial falls after the finite verb, but before the participle.

Of the 20 clauses from SH, ten (50%) have A-V order, and ten (50%) V-A. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the adverbial:

	A1	A2	A3	
A - V	6	3	1	10
V - A	2	3	5	10
TOTAL	8	6	6	20

$\chi^2 = 4.667$ with 2 d.f.; six cells have expected counts less than 5.0. Taking A2 and A3 together $\chi^2 = 3.333$ with 1 d.f.; two cells have expected counts less than 5.0.

Examples include:

A1 - V

ðeah ðe ure yfelny's him oft abelge (SH:II-239)

ðeah ðe hi fullice leofodan (SH:XXI-158)

A2 - V

ðeah þe hi sume hwile ætfleon (SH:VI-148)

ðeah þe þu to Bele noldest (SH:XXI-437)

A3 - V

ðeah þe he on yðrum urne færlice (SH:XXI-038)

V - A1

ðeah hi locion brade (SH:II-077)

V - A2

ðeah þe se mæssepreost manfull beo on life (SH:XII-086)

ƿeah ðe he abite his gebroðra on ær (SH:XXI-109)

V - A3

ƿeah ðe hi comon of þam yfelan cynne (SH:IV-130)

ðeah ðe he him hefig wære her on life æror (SH:XI-253)

The sample is small; however the tendency for light adverbials to precede the verb and heavy adverbials to follow may be discerned.

The order of two adverbials

The sample is of six clauses from CH, one of which has the order V-A-A, one A-V-A, and four A-A-V. From SH there are two clauses, both of which show A-V-A. Examples include:

V - A - A

ƿeah ða gecorenan godes cempa sind feawa geðuhte on
andwerdum life betwux flæsclicum mannum (CH:V-191)

A - V - A

ðeah ðe he gyt wolde þas niwan gecyðnysse eft awendan
(CH:XII-461)

ƿeah ðe hi sume noldon of ðam Iudeiscum his lare underfon
(SH:XII-180).

A - A - V

ƿeah ðe he on eorðan ða gyt wunode (CH:XI-553)

ðeah ðe heo nu on oðre wisan getymbrod sy (CH:XII-021)

Two adverbials appear from this small sample to occur most frequently either both before or both after the verb.

The order of three or more adverbial elements

The sample from CH is of one clause, ðeah ðe hi leohtlice mettas him on muðe bestingon on swilcum fæstendagum mid fræcere gefyrnysse,

CH:XIX-291. There are no examples from SH.

Clause patterns

Figures and examples for verb final and verb not final are as follows:

Verb final CH=40;SH=28

þeah ðe he sylf nænne stæf ne cuðe (CH:VI-179)

þeah þe hit wundorlic si (SH:V-102)

Verb not final CH=14;SH=18

þeah ðe he bruce brades rices (CH:XIII-078)

þeah þe he beo gehæled (SH:II-107)

Verb final accounts for 74% of instances from CH, and 61% from SH. Exceptions are generally explicable in terms of the presence of a heavy element within the clause which falls in post-verbal position, and the frequency of verb final is therefore inverse to the frequency of heavy elements.

Conclusion

Subject before verb appears as a rule in clauses of concession. Direct objects tend to precede the verb, though may follow when there is a stylistic advantage in doing so. When the verb is complex the direct object may fall either before the whole of the verb, or between the finite and non-finite parts of the verb. All indirect objects precede the verb, as do the majority of complements. Very few clauses contain both objects, or an object and a complement, with the result that little may be said about the relative order of the nominal elements. The majority of adverbials precede the verb, weight

playing a part in their positioning.

3.3.7 - CLAUSES OF CONDITION

There are 180 clauses from CH in this section, and 150 from SH. The most common introductory conjunction is gif. Other head-words used in clauses of condition include pær, buton, nymþe, nefne and nemne. These last are used to introduce what Behre (1934) calls exceptive clauses - those clauses describing "an event which, if coming to pass, prevents the realisation of the context of the main clause" (p. 131). Clauses of condition with heads gif and pær may be followed by either indicative or subjunctive, a topic which Behre explores (pp. 131 ff.); the "exceptive clauses" are generally subjunctive.

Waterhouse (1984) has provided a study of the order of gif-clauses relative to the clauses upon which they are dependent. Their order, she finds, may be dependent upon grammatical exigency (for instance a head clause which is itself subordinate almost always precedes the gif clause), the verse form may influence position, and stylistic considerations play their part. Though a clause-order study is of tangential relevance to an investigation of element-order, it may well be that similar factors to those which she identifies as influencing the order of clauses of condition relative to their head-clause apply also to the ordering of elements within conditional clauses.

Specific studies of element-order in clauses of condition are for the most part old, and yield scant information. Kube (1886), from an overt sample of just two clauses, presumably backed by his general impression of Old English, notes that direct order with the infinitive preceding the finite verb is normal. Smith (1893) finds no instances of inversion to express condition in Orosius, though there are instances in Homilies. McKnight (1897), working from a sample of 429 conditional clauses drawn from Alfred's Laws finds only nine instances of inversion (less than 2% therefore).

The order of subject and simple verb

The sample from CH is 140 clauses, and from SH 110 clauses. All save one of these 250 clauses from CH and SH have S-V order. Examples include:

gif man ða ane boc ræt on anes geares ymbryne
(CH:Preface-035)

gif we sceawiað þæt halige husel æfter lichamlicum andgite
(CH:XV-119)

gif ic aflyge on Godes fingre deofla (SH:IV-032)

gif we gehyrsume beoð Godes hæsum mid weorcum (SH:XV-089)

The one example of verb - subject order is gif hit swa geuðe se Ælmihtiga God, CH:X-178. I find this element-order puzzling, for I see no advantage in the observed form over the expected *gif se Ælmihtiga God hit swa geuðe (which may be compared with the attested clause gif se Ælmihtiga eow ðises geuðe, CH:X-185, which is broadly similar, though the weight of the subject is different). The third person singular neuter personal pronoun has the same form for nominative and accusative, which circumstance must surely have resulted in the pronoun in CH:X-178 being initially analysed by the homily's audience as hit subject, and reanalysed when the unambiguous subject se Ælmihtiga God was encountered, with inevitably the potential for misunderstanding. The clause is in close vicinity to the temporal clause ða ða hit wolde God, CH:X-176, and in both cases the effect would seem to be to place a special emphasis on the displaced subject.

The order of subject and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

S - v - V (CH=18;SH=10)

gif ic wolde gereccan (CH:VI-038)

gif we willað æfter ðisum lænan life faran to ðam ecan
(CH:XV-333)

gif he bið gewiten ær (SH:XI-180)

gif hi nellað don (SH:XX-404)

S - V - v (CH=18;SH=13)

gif ic me mid fethunge ferian mihte (CH:X-036)

gif we hit forsuwian dorston (CH:XIX-185)

gif he swa don wolde (SH:IX-063)

gif hit gewurðan mæg (SH:XVIII-258 and XVIII-381)

The subject occurs before the whole of the complex verb, irrespective of the order of words within the verb phrase. This corresponds with the position observed for subject and simple verb.

The order of direct object and simple verb

The sample from CH is of 99 clauses, of which 73 (74%) show O-V order, and 26 (26%) V-O order. The distribution may in part be explained by the weight of the direct object, and may be presented in tabular form:

	01	02	03	TOTAL
O - V	25	16	20	61
V - O	0	5	13	18
	25	21	33	79

$\chi^2 = 12.564$ with 2 d.f.; one cell has an expected count less than 5.0.

Examples include:

O1 - V

gif we hine ne drifað fram us mid yfelum weorcum (CH:III-113)

Gif ge me gehyrað (CH:XIX-141)

02 - V

Gif ic on Godes gaste deofl adræfe (CH:XII-243)

gif he ðone unscæððigan belæwde (CH:XIV-021)

03 - V

gif we godra weorca geswicað (CH:V-088)

gif he ðone gehwædan dæl þæs eles ðam biddendum sealde
(CH:XI-420)

V - 02

Gif he geeuenlæcð Gode on godum weorcum (CH:XIII-071)

Gif hwilc man gebigð oðerne fram gedwylde (CH:XIX-281)

V - 03

gif we forbugað deofles lare (CH:I-119)

Gif ðu ne underfenge þises synfullan mannes reaf æt his forðsiðe
(CH:XX-216)

Direct objects which are pronouns uniformly fall before the verb. Post-verbal position of the direct object accounts for around a quarter of the examples of direct objects of medium weight, and around a third of those of heavy weight. It is apparent that an increase in weight promotes the positioning of the direct object after the verb. In particular it may be noted that especially heavy direct objects, as for example CH:XX-216, fall after the verb.

The sample from SH is 57 clauses, of which 35 (61%) have O-V order, and 22 (39%) V-O order. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the direct object:

	01	02	03	
O - V	13	11	11	35
V - O	1	11	10	22
	14	22	21	57

$\chi^2 = 7.773$ with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

01 - V

Gif ge me lufedon (SH:X-019)

gif ðu hine hatast (SH:XIII-161)

02 - V

gif hwyrc-eowres assa fylþ (SH:II-272)

gif hi hæþene acwelað (SH:XII-108)

03 - V

gif ge þæt gastlice andgit mid godum willan underfoð
(SH:VIII-055)

gyf man þone yfelan willan awent to beteran (SH:XV-101)

V - 01

gif he wurðodon hine (SH:XX-380)

V - 02

gif we geswicað yfeles (SH:XV-046)

gif hi cuðan þæt gescead (SH:XXI-090)

V - 03

Gyf þu cuþest Godes gyfe (SH:V-018 and V-130)

gif se welwillenda Hælend us ne behete þone heofonlican eard
(SH:XI-144)

Pronominal direct objects generally precede the verb, the one exception (SH:XX-380) probably explicable in terms of alliteration (wurðodon in the b-line with oferwinnan in the a-line). Direct objects of medium and heavy weight divide in approximately equal numbers into pre-verbal and post-verbal. Alliteration offers an explanation for most examples, and may have served to promote V-0 in comparison with the position observed in CH.

The order of direct object and complex verb

Examples and figures are:

0 - v - V (CH=2;SH=0)

gif hwa ðas boc awritan wylle (CH:Preface-043)

Gif ðu gyt swa micel ne miht ðurhteon (CH:XIX-073)

v - 0 - V (CH=3;SH=2)

gif we willað Cristes lichaman ðicgan (CH:XV-271)

gif ðu wylt ðine dæda and ðeawas gerihtlæcan (CH:XXI-092)

gif he mihte ænige synne oþþe sumne gylt on Criste afindan (SH:X-192)

gif he butan wæpnum mihte þone wurm acwellan (SH:XXI-443)

v - V - 0 (CH=0;SH=0)

0 - V - v (CH=8;SH=6)

gif hit ænig wæta wanian mihte (CH:X-121)

gif we hit swa gelogian magon (CH:XIV-003)

gif we hit geearnian willað (SH:XI-053)

Gif ge þæt halige scrin ham sendan wyllað (SH:XXI-253)

V - v - 0 (CH=2;SH=0)

gif ðu buton geleafan æt us leornian wylt ða halgan gerynu ðurh heardum swinglum (CH:XVIII-081)

gif we wyrcente beoð ða ðincg ðe ... (CH:XIX-048)

The variety of positions in which the direct object may fall is immediately apparent. Occasionally the position is influenced by the direct object being itself a dependent clause, as CH:XIX-048, where part of the direct object is an adjectival clause (ðe ic bebeode eow to gehealdenne), which would be unlikely to fall within its head clause, though it must be noted that separation of antecedent and relative is well attested within Old English (as is discussed by Mitchell, 1985, §2289). Among other examples which place the direct object after the verb it may be noted that SH:XVI-194 translates a Vulgate passage which places the direct object post-verbally: Et quicumque potum dederit uni ex minimis istis calicem frigidæ The most common position for the direct object is before the whole of the complex verb, accounting for eighteen of twenty-seven examples (67%). This is in general agreement with the position of direct objects relative to simple verbs.

The order of indirect object and simple verb

The sample is of 12 clauses from CH, and 19 from SH. Of those from CH all 12 show I-V order, including:

gif se Ælmihtiga eow ðises geuðe (CH:X-185)

gif he him ne sæde swa hwæs swa he axode (CH:XVIII-078)

All indirect objects in this sample are pronominal.

Of the 19 clauses from SH, 17 show I-V order, and two V-I order. The distribution is wholly explicable in terms of weight. When the direct object is a pronoun it always falls before the verb, as for example

Gif ic eorðlice þing openlice eow secge (SH:XII-186)

gif þu me leafe sylst (SH:XXI-440)

When the indirect object is of medium or heavy weight it falls after the verb:

gif ðu yfeles bitst ænigum oðrum menn (SH:VIII-069)

Gif ðu geoffrast Gode ænige lac æt his weofode (SH:XV-019 and XV-191)

The order of indirect object and complex verb

There are five examples, one from CH and four from SH, all of which place the indirect object before the whole of the complex verb. Examples include:

gif he ðone Hælend him belæwan mihte (CH:XIV-019)

gyf ic þa heofenlican ðing eow secgan wylle (SH:XII-034 and 188)

gif he ðam forleganan wife lif þa getæcan wolde (SH:XIII-209)

The order of complement and simple verb

The sample from CH is of 19 clauses; from SH of 12 clauses. Of those from CH, 12 (63%) show C-V order, and seven (37%) V-C order. The distribution may be presented in tabular form, taking into account the weight of the complement:

	C1	C2	C3	TOTAL
C - V	1	4	6	11
V - C	0	4	3	7
	1	8	8	18

$\chi^2 = 1.169$ with 2 d.f.; however two cells have expected counts less than 1.0. Taking C1 and C2 together $\chi^2 = 0.234$ 1 d.f.; two cells have expected counts less than 5.0.

Examples include:

C1 - V

Gif þæt land ðin is (CH:VII-077)

C2 - V

gif ge Cristes sind (CH:IV-175)

Gif we untrume beoð (CH:XIX-252)

C3 - V

gif ge gyt Godes wyrhtan sind (CH:V-107)

gif he Iudeiscre ðeode cyning on eornost wære (CH:XIV-168)

V - C2

eala gif ðu wære hund (CH:XVIII-075)

gif eowere synna wæron wolcnreade ær ðan (CH:XIX-139)

V - C3

gif heo bið orhlyte ydeles gylpes (CH:XVI-093)

gif se blinda man bið oðres blindan latteow (CH:XIX-109)

The complement may fall either before or after the verb, without a significant correlation between its position and weight.

Of the 12 clauses from SH, all show C-V order, including:

gif he æmtig bið æfter his fulluhte fram eallum godum weorcum

(SH:IV-244)

Gif he Godes Sunu is (SH:VII-118)

gif he rumra wære to þam Godes weorce (SH:VIII-110)

The result is at variance with that obtained from CH. Whilst it must be stressed that the sample is small, it does appear that a strong tendency towards C-V is observed in SH which is absent from CH.

The order of complement and complex verb

There are three examples, all from CH. One, Gif ge willað beon se dæg ..., CH:XVI-218, shows the order v-V-C, while two show C-V-v: gif he on Godes dome unscyldig beon wile, CH:Preface-048, and gif he buton tale beon wolde, CH:IV-081. In CH:XVI-218 the complement is qualified by an adjectival clause, ðe Drihten worhte, and must therefore occupy the final position within the clause.

The order of the objects

The sample from CH is of seven clauses; from SH of 13. Of those from CH, four show the order O-I and three I-O. Examples of the former include:

gif we on andwerdum lfe hi oðrum mannum cyðað (CH:VII-049)

gif we ealle ðas getacnunga eow nu ætsomne gereccað (CH:XII-175)

Examples of I-O include:

gif se ðearfa hine bitt ælmessan (CH:VII-059)

Gif he ðonne eow ðises ne getiðode (CH:X-187)

There may be a general tendency to place objects in order of increasing weight, though this is not attested by CH:XII-175, where a direct object of medium weight is followed by an indirect object of

light weight. There are no clauses in CH which contain a direct object and a complement.

Of the 13 clauses from SH, seven (54%) show O-I order, and six (46%) I-O order. Examples of O-I order include:

Gif ic eorðlice þing openlice eow secge (SH:XII-032 and XII-186)

gif ic þa heofenlican ðing eow secgan wylle (SH:XII-034 and XII-188)

Examples of I-O include:

Gif ðu geoffrast Gode ænige lac æt his weofode (SH:XV-019 and XV-191)

gif þu me leafe sylst (SH:XXI-440)

The order of single adverbials

There are 69 clauses in CH and 51 in SH which contain one adverbial element. Of those in CH, 47 (68%) have the order A-V, and 22 (32%) that of V-A. Taking into account the weight of the adverbial, the distribution may be presented in tabular form thus:

	A1	A2	A3	TOTAL
A - V	27	10	10	47
V - A	2	7	13	22
	29	17	3	69

$\chi^2 = 15.442$ with 2 d.f..

Examples include:

A1 - V

gif se lareowas riht tæce (CH:III-235)

gif he ðæs halgan husles unwurðe onbyrigð (CH:XV-248)

A2 - V

hwæðer hit on life aðolige (CH:III-260)

gif he Iudeiscra ðeode cyning on eornost wære (CH:XIV-168)

A3 - V

gif we hit on andweardan life geearniað (CH:IV-239)

gif we soðe bilewitnysse on urum mode healdað (CH:XII-362)

V - A1

gif heo bið geornlice to gemynegod (CH:I-298)

gif hit nis soðlice þæt ... (CH:XV-101)

V - A2

gif eowere synna wæron wolcnreade ær ðan (CH:XIX-139)

Gif hwilc man gebigð oðerne fram gedwylde (CH:XIX-281)

V - A3

gif man ða ane boc ræt on anes geares ymbryne
(CH:Preface-035)

gif ðas beboda and oðre þillice habbað ænigne stede on his heortan
(CH:XIII-087)

One-word adverbials generally precede the verb; of the two clauses which are exceptions, CH:I-298 places the adverbial between finite verb and infinitive, while only CH:XV-101 places the adverbial after the whole verb (here a simple verb). In this clause the verb is nis; it might be suggested that having the form of negative particle plus verb plus adverbial this construction is in many respects similar to A-V-A (exemplified below). The order verb - adverbial accounts for just under half of two-word adverbials, and just over half of three (or more) word adverbials.

Of the 51 clauses in SH, 25 (49%) have A-V order, and 26 (51%) V-A. In tabular form taking into account the weight of the adverbial the results are:

	A1	A2	A3	TOTAL
A - V	20	1	4	25
V - A	1	7	18	26
	21	8	22	51

$\chi^2 = 30.592$ with 2 d.f.; two cells have expected counts less than 5.0. Taking A2 and A3 together $\chi^2 = 30.516$ with 1 d.f..

Examples include:

A1 - V

Gif ic soðlice fare (SH:VII-015)

gif hi þæt an Godes bebod næfre ne tobræcan (SH:XXI-032)

A2 - V

gif he butan wæpnum mihte þone wurm acwellan (SH:XXI-443)

A3 - V

gif ge þæt gastlice andgit mid godum willan underfoð
(SH:VIII-055)

gif hy for his lufan ne forlætað his heorde (SH:XIV-206)

V - A1

gif he bið gewiten ær (SH:XI-180)

V - A2

gif he mihte ænige synne oþþe sumne gylt on Criste afindan
(SH:X-192)

gif we gehyrsume beoð Godes hæsum mid weorcum (SH:XV-089)

V - A3

gif we his lare folgiað on ures lifes þeawum (SH:XIV-065)

gif se cyning asent gewrit to sumon his þegena (SH:XX-406)

All but one of the light adverbials fall before the verb, while the majority of two and three (or more) word adverbials fall after the verb. These results are relatively clear, but frequently the motivation for placing the adverbial in a particular position is unclear. Clause SH:XXI-443 might be explained as an emphatic device laying stress upon butan wæpnum, the surprising factor in Daniel's dragon-fight. The one-word adverbials from SH agree with the testimony of CH in their position. However adverbials of medium and heavy weight from SH show a greater tendency to be placed post-verbally than for CH.

The order of two adverbial elements

The sample is of 17 clauses from CH, and 12 from SH. In CH the two

adverbial elements are split by the verb in only three instances; the orders V-A-A and A-A-V each account for seven clauses. Examples of two adverbials not divided by the verb include:

gif he come on ðære godcundnysse buton menniscnysse (CH:I-032)

gif hi igdægēs to mynstre gecyrran mihton (CH:XII-224)

gif we willað æfter ðisum lænan life faran to ðam ecan
(CH:XV-333)

The three examples of A-V-A are:

gif hi æfre sceolon to ðam eðele becuman (CH:XII-481)

gif we rihtlice gelyfað on ðone soðan alysend ealles middaneardes
Hælend Crist (CH:XV-047)

gif hi unscæððignysse on heora heortan berað to ðam weofode
(CH:XV-245)

In SH there are three instances of the order V-A-A, including gif he oftorfian hete þæt wif þa mid stanum, SH:XIII-211, and eight instances of A-V-A, including:

gif we nu gehyrsumiað his hæsum mid weorcum (SH:II-175)

gif ic on his naman adræfe deofla of mannum (SH:IV-118)

The order of three or more adverbial elements

The sample from CH is of five clauses, and from SH of eight. The sample from CH is well spread over the four possible element-orders. The examples are:

V - A - A - A

buton he beo eft acenned of þære gastlican meder of Cristes bryde
(CH:I-106)

A - V - A - A

Gif ðu swa ne dest on sibbe for gode (CH:XIX-075)

A - A - V - A

gif ðu buton geleafan æt us leornian wylt ða halgan gerynu ðurh
heardum swinglum (CH:XVIII-081)

A - A - A - V

gif we ær on life rihtlice leofodon (CH:V-164)

Of the eight instances from SH, three show V-A-A-A, six A-V-A-A and three A-A-V-A; there are no instances of A-A-A-V. Examples include:

V - A - A - A

Gif hwa bið on þære tide ymbe hys tilunge oððe on his huse oððe on hys æcere (SH:XVIII-027)

A - A - V - A - A

gif he mid unþeawum hi aweg ne adrifð ne mid sweartum synnum swilce cuman him fram (SH:X-039)

gif we ær mid wærscipe ure synna gebetað sylfwilles on life (SH:XV-123)

A - A - V - A

Gif hwa nu þurh steore sum styrne word gecwyð to his underþeoddum for heora stuntnysse (SH:XV-173)

Clause patterns

Figures and examples for verb final and verb not final may be presented as follows:

Verb final CH=117;SH=71

Gif ge me gehyrað (CH:XIX-141)

Gif ge þæt halige scrin ham sendan wyllað (SH:XXI-253)

Verb not final CH=61;SH=64

gif man ða ane boc ræt on anes geares ymbryne (CH:Preface-035)

gif ðu yfeles bitst ænigum oðrum menn (SH:VIII-069)

Verb final accounts for 66% of CH and 53% of SH. The numerous exceptions to the verb final order are generally explicable in terms of the presence within the clause of elements of heavy weight, as is exemplified by the two examples quoted above, and by numerous

other examples within this section.

Conclusion

The positioning of subject before simple verb and the whole of complex verb phrases may be considered a rule, as it is shown by 308 clauses of a sample of 309. Direct objects may fall either before or after the simple verb, according in part to their weight, the pre-verbal position being all but uniform among pronouns. A greater percentage of post-verbal direct objects are found in SH than CH, indicating the relative modernity of the prose of SH in this area. When the verb is complex, the direct object may be found either before or after the whole verb phrase, or between the two parts, though pre-verbal position predominates. Indirect objects may fall in either position with respect to the verb, simple or complex, the limited sample indicating that the distribution is wholly explicable in terms of weight. Complements show different patterns in the two prose types. In CH they fall both before and after the simple verb, without apparent reference to their weight, while in SH they fall consistently before the simple verb. The position of the objects relative to one another seems in part at least dependent on the principle of ascending weight, though the sample is small. Adverbials are relatively free in their position, responding in part to their weight. It is interesting to note that the post-verbal position of adverbials is more frequent in SH than CH indicating that the historical movement away from verb-final in clauses of condition is more developed in the rhythmic prose.

3.4 - CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER THREE

Differences between the three main divisions of dependent clauses, nominal, adjectival and adverbial, are pronounced. I see no value in attempting to combine results obtained from these three categories, as the category of dependent clauses does not constitute the domain of element-order patterns.

Results for the incidence of verb final and verb not final for the clause categories distinguished may be drawn together as follows, first for CH:

	Verb final		Verb not final	
Nominal	129	42%	176	58%
Adjectival	376	58%	271	42%
Place	17	71%	7	29%
Time	169	61%	107	39%
Consequence	148	39%	227	61%
Cause	36	19%	151	81%
Comparison	137	64%	76	36%
Concession	40	74%	14	26%
Condition	117	66%	61	34%

For SH:

	Verb final		Verb not final	
Nominal	99	34%	195	66%
Adjectival	364	45%	445	55%
Place	23	59%	16	41%
Time	66	37%	112	63%
Consequence	76	32%	160	68%
Cause	46	23%	152	77%
Comparison	119	64%	104	36%
Concession	28	61%	18	39%
Condition	71	53%	64	47%

The variation in these results for the nine dependent clause categories distinguished is such that analysis is difficult. It is far from clear, for instance, why clauses of cause should show 23% verb final, and clauses of comparison 64% verb final. To an extent the results throw doubt on the usefulness of verb final as a concept for understanding Ælfric's element-order. The differences in frequency of

this feature are in part explained by different frequencies of heavy nominal elements (which tend to fall post-verbally) in each clause category. It is certainly the case that such heavy elements are more common in clauses of cause than in clauses of concession, and in part this feature explains the different frequencies of verb final. It is not however a sufficient explanation. Of greater use is the concept of a verb which may be postponed in dependent clauses. Thus, for example, in CH the proportion of O-V to V-O in dependent clauses is 234:157, whereas in non-conjoined independent clauses without an initial adverbial the proportion is 98:455.

A comparison of the different types of adverbial clauses is desirable, in order to reveal both similarities and differences between the seven categories which have been considered. Some principal results may be presented in tabular form:

Results from CH are:

	S-V	V-S	O-V	V-O	I-V	V-I	C-V	V-C
Place	20	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Time	196	2	54	23	5	3	13	5
Conseq.	234	1	72	55	27	1	0	5
Cause	127	4	10	40	4	0	0	31
Compar.	160	10	21	20	27	1	5	1
Concess.	36	0	14	1	5	0	5	0
Condit.	139	1	61	18	12	0	12	7
Total	912	18	234	157	80	5	35	49

Results from SH are:

	S-V	V-S	O-V	V-O	I-V	V-I	C-V	V-C
Place	27	2	3	1	0	0	0	0
Time	130	0	21	23	8	3	5	7
Conseq.	145	2	38	27	19	10	4	8
Cause	168	6	4	29	9	10	35	12
Compar.	178	15	14	11	44	10	3	0
Concess.	44	0	2	1	4	0	14	3
Condit.	110	0	35	22	17	2	12	0
Total	802	25	117	114	101	35	73	30

Important general trends in adverbial clauses may be seen. The order

of S-V approaches a rule, with 98% of instances (in CH and SH combined) displaying this pattern. The order I-V is revealed as a general trend, accounting for in excess of four-fifths of instances, a clear pattern. Direct objects and complements both divide themselves into substantial groups before and after the verb; for both the pre-verbal position is slightly more common. As has been seen in discussion throughout this chapter, weight is of great importance in determining the position of nominal and adverbial elements with respect to the verb.

Presenting the results for the seven adverbial clause categories in one table illustrates some differences which exist between them. Clauses of comparison show 7% instances of V-S order, in comparison with either 0% or almost 0% in clauses of time, consequence, concession and condition. For the position of the direct objects the clauses divide into those which most frequently place the direct object pre-verbally (place 80%, time 62%, consequence 57%, concession 89%, condition 71%), and those which are either roughly equal in their number of direct objects before and after the verb (comparison) or which place the direct object pre-verbally in a minority of cases (cause, just 17% O-V).

The existence of such differences indicates that sub-division of the category of adverbial clauses is necessary to correspond with the domain of element-order patterns. It would be largely misleading to present a discussion based on the summation of results from these various categories.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

The position of elements relative to the verb phrase may be set out in terms of tendencies which may be discerned within a particular type of clause. Important factors include the syntactic categories of elements, the weight of elements, and the influence of style, particularly the effect of alliterative and rhythmic requirements on the prose of SH. Features such as these have been considered above, and illustrated with copious examples. Special features, such as the order of theme before rheme and the influence of Latin syntax, have been discussed as appropriate. Throughout it has been found that general tendencies for Ælfric's positioning of each element may be advanced for all clause types; one partial exception is interrogative clauses, where rules rather than tendencies apply, as is established in section 2.4.

The importance of the rôle of weight in determining the position of elements has been seen throughout this thesis. As a general rule it may be seen that light non-verbal elements tend to precede the finite verb, while heavy non-verbal elements tend to follow, though there are important exceptions which reflect qualities of specific elements, and of specific clause types, as well as numerous instances of stylistic modification, particularly in SH. The concept of verb final in dependent clauses has been shown to be of limited use, in that the presence or absence of verb final is frequently explicable in terms of the presence or absence of a heavy element which is likely to fall after the verb. Of greater value is the concept of postponing the verb in conjoined independent and in dependent clauses.

Among independent clauses the concept of verb second is of particular use in describing their element-order. Predominant

patterns for non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses are S-V-O and A-V-S-O; similarly S-V-I and A-V-S-I, and S-V-C and A-V-S-C. Though exceptions are numerous these base patterns clearly exist. For conjoined clauses prevalent orders are S-V-O, S-V-I and S-V-C, though once again exceptions are numerous. Dependent clauses in Ælfric cannot be said to show simply verb final as a base order, for objects, complements and adverbials are frequently found post-verbally; however verb final is of some use in understanding their element-order, for the patterns S-O-V and S-I-V are substantially more common in dependent clauses. Though elements are frequently found following the verb in such clauses, it is nonetheless true that the verb has been postponed, in that it follows an element it would usually be expected to precede. In such clauses, although the subject generally precedes the verb, they cannot be said to show verb second, for objects, complements and adverbials often fall between the subject and verb. Without doubt a considerable measure of freedom is found in the element-order of dependent clauses, though the freedom is regulated, principally by tendencies which govern the position of elements according to their weight.

Reasons for different element-orders in the various clause types may be advanced in outline. It is advantageous to have different patterns in dependent clauses to those found in independent clauses as a means of indicating subordination. It is likely that in an early stage in its development Old English showed verb final in dependent clauses (as has been suggested may be seen in Beowulf); in Ælfric only the remains of verb final order may be seen, in the tendency to postpone the verb in certain clause categories. Conjoined clauses, which by their link with a preceding independent clause are in some respects similar to dependent clauses, may on occasions show a dependent clause element-order. To a limited extent this may be seen in the Ælfric corpus: conjoined clauses place the verb in a position

which is not second in the clause more frequently than do non-conjoined declarative clauses. Similarly nominal clauses show what may be regarded as verb second more often than do other types of dependent clauses, appropriate for the dependent clause category which most closely resembles independent clauses. In general however the motivations for the different element-order patterns are hard to discern, particularly in the differences which may be observed between the various adverbial clause categories. To some extent different adverbial clause categories have different proportions of elements of particular weights, and this is a factor in producing the differences in order observed, though it does not constitute a complete explanation.

The element-order of Ælfric exhibits a measure of freedom against a background of regulation. Certain orders are unattested, and in many cases may be presumed unacceptable in the language of Ælfric. Many patterns are found only rarely, and may then be presumed to occur for a special reason, which may often be revealed by a careful reading. Even in the case of adverbial elements, traditionally considered to be almost completely free in their position, tendencies may be discerned which regulate element-order. Throughout the thesis the importance of seeing many factors as influencing the order of elements has been noted. Tendencies of the type set out above may be modified by such factors as the requirements of rhythm and alliteration, for emphasis, and in order to place theme before rheme, while other factors may on occasions cause modification, as for example in response to the syntax of the Latin original. With few exceptions, element-order in Old English defies the promulgation of rules, and can be described only in terms of tendencies. Frequently an examination of an element-order pattern which conflicts with an observed tendency can be explained if more factors are taken into account.

Differences between CH and SH have been noted as they have been found. It is instructive to draw together these differences, so that their extent may be assessed, and motivations suggested.

Within non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses several differences are found. The position of the subject relative to the complex verb varies, in that in CH a tendency may be noted to place heavy subjects after the whole of the complex verb, a position unattested in SH, while the pattern v-S-V is more common in SH than in CH. In the positioning of direct objects relative to the complex verb it may be observed that v-O-V is more common in SH than in CH. Differences may be noted in the positioning of the indirect object: with simple verbs V-I is more common in SH than in CH, while with complex verbs v-I-V, the most common order in CH, is uncommon in SH, but v-V-I, uncommon in CH, is most common in SH. The pattern I-V-S, which is common in CH, is unattested in SH, while V-I-S is found only in SH. The order of the objects differs. In CH the trend is for the placing of the direct object before the indirect object, while in SH the ordering principle appears to be that of weight, with light objects preceding heavy. Two (non-initial) adverbials may be found before the verb in CH, though this order is not attested in SH. Groups of three (non-initial) adverbials always occur after the verb in SH, in contrast to CH where they are attested both before the verb and split by the verb.

In conjoined declaratives no examples may be found in SH of pronominal subjects after the simple verb, though this is attested in CH. In CH the subject always precedes the whole of the complex verb, while SH shows greater freedom of position, with the subject occasionally falling between the two parts of the verb, or after the whole of the verb. It appears that O-V is more common in SH than in CH, though this difference is slight. There is a greater range of clause patterns containing direct objects in SH than in CH; SH shows

S-V-O, S-O-V, O-S-V and O-V-S, while CH shows only the first two of these. Indirect objects are positioned in CH with respect to complex verbs only in the pattern I-v-V, while in SH a greater variety of positions for the indirect object is attested in the three patterns I-v-V, v-I-V and v-V-I. Among patterns containing indirect objects, S-I-V is the most common in CH, while S-V-I is the most common in SH. The pattern I-V-S is attested only in SH; it appears that SH shows a greater variety in the positioning of the indirect object. The complement always falls after the simple verb in CH (a large sample establishes this rule), while in SH 21% of complements appear in pre-verbal position. With complex verbs only the pattern S-V-C is found in complex verbs, though there is some flexibility in SH. There are differences too in adverbial position. In CH almost three quarters of light adverbials precede the verb, while in SH light adverbials fall before and after the verb in approximately equal numbers.

In nominal clauses the following differences may be noted. Pronominal direct objects in post-verbal position are attested only in SH. In CH the order I-V is common, approaching a rule, while in SH this order accounts for only just over half the sample. Complements show greater freedom of position in SH; heavy complements, for example, may precede the verb in SH, an order not attested in CH. Post-verbal one-word adverbials are rare in CH, but common in SH; the order A-A-V is less common in SH than in CH.

Among adjectival clauses the placing of a pronominal direct object after the verb is attested only in SH. As a rule SH shows the order I-O, while CH often shows O-I.

Clauses of place and clauses of concession show no noticeable differences, as a result of the small sample size.

In clauses of time the pattern S-V-v, frequently encountered in CH, is rare in SH. Heavy direct objects, which are as frequently found before the verb as after in CH, in SH generally follow the

verb. Among adverbials, the pattern A-A-V predominates in CH, while V-A-A predominates in SH.

In clauses of consequence there is a strong correlation between weight and direct object position in CH, but only a weak correlation in SH. It appears that in SH the direct object is frequently positioned so as to favour alliteration within the line. With complex verbs, the pattern v-O-V is more common in CH than in SH. The order V-I is rare in CH, but well attested in SH. There is no evidence to suggest that the greater frequency of this order in SH is determined by rhythm or alliteration. In adverbial position SH shows a preference for V-A-A rather than A-A-V, while in clauses which contain three or more adverbials SH never places more than one adverbial before the verb.

Clauses of cause show a greater incidence of post-verbal position of the indirect object in CH than in SH.

Direct objects in clauses of comparison are placed with greater freedom in CH than are those from SH. Heavy adverbials falling before the verb are reasonably common in CH, rare in SH.

In clauses of condition adverbials of medium or heavy weight show a greater tendency to be placed post-verbally in SH than in CH.

The existence of the differences noted above must not be allowed to obscure the overwhelming conformity between the two prose types in the field of element-order. Nonetheless the differences which have been noted require an explanation. They may be interpreted as motivated by the rhythmic requirements of SH, by the need for a greater freedom of positioning in order to facilitate composition within an alliterative form, and by differences in the nature of the two prose types.

Rhythmic requirements of SH may be perceived in a variety of element-order features. It is perhaps most apparent in the

positioning of adverbials. In SH post-verbal positioning of groups of two or three adverbials is favoured throughout all clause types (so far as the sample size will allow conclusions to be reached). It may be suggested that the rhythmic style preferred adverbial modification to follow the verb rather than to precede it, avoiding the break to the forward movement of the rhythm (and sense) produced by pre-verbal modification. Considerations of rhythm are probably the explanation for different tendencies in the positioning of two objects in the two prose styles, as exemplified by the non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses. In SH the tendency is to put light before heavy, while in CH the favoured order is direct object before indirect object. While in CH the ordering factor is the function of the objects, in SH it is their rhythm within the clause.

Greater freedom is frequently encountered in SH. This is particularly noticeable in the positioning of direct objects, and to a lesser extent in the positioning of indirect objects and complements. When clause patterns containing objects and complements are considered it may be seen that SH reveals a ^agreater number of attested patterns than does CH. The form of SH requires alliteration, and some alteration in element-order to accommodate this stylistic need is inevitable.

In some areas SH appears to display tendencies which are simply different from those found in CH. This is particularly apparent in the placing of the subject. Where in CH in non-conjoined declarative and exclamative clauses subjects which are heavy may be found after the whole of the complex verb phrase, this order is completely absent from SH. Similarly CH will on occasions place a pronominal subject post-verbally in conjoined declaratives, an order not found in SH. In the positioning of the two objects in adjectival clauses CH shows both O-I and I-O, while SH shows only I-O. There is a greater tendency for heavy direct objects to fall post-verbally in SH than in

CH, a characteristic best exemplified in clauses of time. These differences perhaps reflect differences in the subject matter and intended audience of the two sets of homilies. Expository prose is far more common in CH than in SH. It may be noted that SH in this area consistently shows the element-order which is more modern, favouring pre-verbal subjects, post-verbal direct objects, and indirect objects before direct objects. The concept of modernity in element-order for SH is one which should be treated with care, for the evidence, though pervasive throughout the material analysed, consists only of small changes in frequencies of element-orders.

The attempt to compare results with those of other studies may be made. To a considerable extent this may be seen as an effort to place the results gathered from the Ælfric corpus within a diachronic framework. Many difficulties are encountered. It is perhaps inevitable that in the study of element-order, a subject which still lacks an agreed methodology, major differences of approach will be found in works produced on the topic, which present substantial problems in producing a comparison. Below a comparison is offered with the results of five of the studies which have made an important contribution to the subject: Barrett (1953), Bacquet (1962), Carlton (1970), Sprockel (1973) and Bean (1983).

Barrett analyses two Ælfric texts: Catholic Homilies First Series and Lives of Saints, examining in particular the contrast between the rhythmic and non-rhythmic prose. His sample size is substantial (though not stated explicitly it may be inferred to be about 4,100 clauses). Comparison is obviously desirable, but is hampered by Barrett's idiosyncratic choice of clause categories which do not correspond with the domain of element-order patterns. His all-pervasive contrast between clauses with and without heads is unhelpful. In view of these obstacles only general comment may be offered, rather than systematic numerical comparison.

For the order of subject and verb in independent clauses Barrett offers a "general view" (p. 1) from which the following figures may be extracted:

	<u>Catholic Homilies</u>		<u>Lives of Saints</u>	
	First Series			
S - V	1007	67.9%	635	64.2%
V - S	475	32.1%	353	35.8%
TOTAL	1482		988	

Precise comparison with my results is not useful as the value of a "general view" which comprises categories as contradictory in this feature as non-conjoined and conjoined declaratives is limited. Taking Barrett's figures as they stand they indicate that S-V order is slightly more common in Catholic Homilies First Series than in Lives of Saints. My findings indicate that S-V is in general more common in SH than in CH. Assuming that the First and Second Series Catholic Homilies are alike in this feature, it appears that Lives of Saints, Catholic Homilies (First and Second Series) and Supplementary Homilies show different incidences of S-V order. The area is one which requires further investigation; I do not believe that it is possible to extract the necessary information from Barrett's study for the differences to be examined in a satisfactory manner. The awareness that Ælfric may perhaps be utilising more literary styles than the two exemplified by CH and SH is an interesting concept.

Difficulties in utilising Barrett's findings in comparison with my own (or any other study) are as pronounced in dependent clauses as in independent. An area which appears at first promising for comparison is that of adjectival clauses, for Barrett's dependent clauses without heads "are for the most part relative clauses, where the relative pronoun is the subject" (p. 58). However Barrett includes within his category of clauses showing direct order those which have a relative pronoun as the subject, a group excluded from my figures,

inevitably increasing his instances of direct order. These difficulties noted, a comparison of Barrett's dependent clauses without heads with my adjectival clauses may be offered:

	<u>Catholic Homilies</u>		<u>Lives of Saints</u>	
	<u>(first series)</u>			
S - V	306	99%	126	100%
V - S	3	1%	0	0%

	<u>CH</u>		<u>SH</u>	
S - V	182	99%	198	99%
V - S	2	1%	1	1%

Of Barrett's three instances of V-S, two are quoted (p. 59), neither of which is an adjectival clause. In effect Barrett's study would seem to indicate that the order S-V is virtually universal in adjectival clauses. In outline this corresponds with my results, though there are differences in detail, for the results presented in this thesis do indicate that exceptions may occur to what may at first appear to be a rule of S-V in adjectival clauses. It may be that Barrett's sample size is not large enough for him to have chanced upon these rare exceptions. Barrett's results, taken in conjunction with the findings of this thesis, provide strong evidence of the expected prevalence of S-V in adjectival clauses. It is a shortcoming of Barrett's work that his thesis does not elucidate more interesting areas of element-order.

The voluminous study of Bacquet requires discussion here, as it is undoubtedly the case that a comparison of the element-order of Ælfric with Alfredian texts, particularly literary works, would be of

value. Bacquet's sample is large.¹ However comparison of results from Bacquet is difficult as a consequence of unfortunate omissions in his presentation of material.² It is essential that the student utilising Bacquet's study is aware both of its strengths and weaknesses.³ Bacquet's work may be discussed with some profit by comparing his conclusions, rather than the detail of his analysis, with results from analysis of the Ælfric corpus.

On the subject of positive declarative independent clauses Bacquet offers a synthesis (pp. 121-2) in which he expounds certain rules:

sont préverbaux les éléments suivants: l'objet pronominal; les adverbes de manière swa, swipe; l'adverbe de lieu pær, l'adverbe de temps sona; les adverbes de temps pa et bonne suivant leur sens ... Sont postverbaux les éléments suivants: l'objet nominal; l'objet indirect prépositional nominal ou pronominal; l'attribut de l'objet ...

though these rules are qualified by the comment "Naturellement, il

¹ The precise size of Bacquet's sample is not stated. The corpus differs for each section. Thus, for example, for positive declarative clauses the following texts are named (p. 64) as offering material: Cura Pastoralis, Laws of Alfred, Augustine's Soliloquies, Orosius and Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Parker Manuscript) to 892. Bacquet notes (p. 25) that he has made a comprehensive study of one text - "Une première démarche a consisté à faire une étude exhaustive d'une œuvre assez longue de l'époque alfrédienne telle que la Cura Pastoralis ..." - which seems to imply that his study of other texts is not total, and may indeed be no more than a reading in order to cull some interesting examples.

² Bacquet's omission of the size of the sample relevant to each section of his work makes the meaning of his frequent statements on the number of instances of a particular pattern uncertain, and his thesis difficult to use for the purpose of a statistical comparison.

³ Characteristic weaknesses of Bacquet's work may be illustrated by a consideration of his description of positive declaratives. For these Bacquet produces a description of what he observes as the "Ordre de Base", followed by a summary (pp. 117-126) which lists (by my count) 42 unmarked element-order patterns. It is very difficult to know how to use such a complex result. Bacquet's study undoubtedly contains much material which is of interest, but presented in a manner which renders it inaccessible. There are also shortcomings of inadequate discrimination between clauses. Thus, for example, in Chapter VIII adverbial and conjoined clauses are treated as a group, though differences of element-order exist between the two.

reste bien des lacunes dans cette synthèse". Such general results may be compared with the results presented within this thesis. For the Ælfric corpus it is indeed correct to say for clauses of this type that pronominal direct objects generally precede the verb, as do one-word adverbials, certainly including those quoted by Bacquet. I do not observe in Ælfric a greater tendency for the specified adverbials to occur in pre-verbal position than is shown by other one-word adverbials. It is correct too, from the point of view of the Ælfric corpus, for such elements as nominal direct objects to follow the verb. Thus on this matter, as on many others, a broad similarity may be seen between the language of Alfred and Ælfric, though in the absence of precise figures for Alfred's language an exact comparison cannot be drawn. In particular it is not possible to establish in a satisfactory manner the nature of differences which may exist.

Bacquet's treatment of non-declarative independent clauses may be considered briefly, though some areas are weak.⁴ On imperative clauses Bacquet notes (p. 273) a "remarquable symétrie" which may be observed between imperatives and declaratives as attested by Cura Pastoralis and Laws of Alfred. This accords with the findings of this thesis. It may well be that imperative and declarative clauses do not form wholly discrete categories from the point of view of element-order. Conjoined clauses are covered with uncharacteristic brevity (pp. 516-522), an undesirable state of affairs with respect to the frequent occurrence of such clauses in Old English; a larger sample might have steered Bacquet away from the broadly correct but largely unhelpful statement that in conjoined clauses "on observe les structures qui sont celles de la subordonnée en général" (p. 516). Bacquet's treatment of nominal clauses is unclear. Comparison of the

⁴ Thus, for example, material on interrogative clauses (pp. 183-231) is not illuminating and cannot be used to compare with other studies, as Bacquet fails to divide interrogatives into syntactically discrete categories which define the domain of different element-orders.

wealth of exemplary material gathered by Bacquet with the results for Ælfric is exceedingly difficult; there is undoubtedly a need for a study of Alfredian material which presents results in a more accessible manner.

Carlton's study is most suited for comparison with the results presented within this study. The charter material utilised provides a corpus of non-literary prose, which contrasts with the two literary prose-styles used by Ælfric. The basic methodology used by Carlton is in my view sound, though the study would benefit from additional discrimination in the categories considered, which are frequently too broad to be illuminating, while the results are limited by the size of the corpus, which is smaller than is ideal. The tables below are drawn from Carlton's material, modified in that I have combined Carlton's categories of simple sentences (sentences which consist solely of an independent clause) and independent clauses (within complex sentences) within one category of independent clauses, and combined his figures for initial and sequence clauses. Carlton divides dependent clauses into three classes (I, II and III), which correspond with nominal, adjectival and adverbial clauses respectively. Imperative, interrogative and optative clauses appear to have been excluded from Carlton's figures, a restriction which is inevitable for charter material where such categories are rare, but one which must be noted when the term independent clauses is used below to refer both to Carlton's figures and to my own material. Carlton does not subdivide adverbial clauses; this is a necessary restriction imposed by the limited size of his corpus. Nor does he subdivide independent clauses, which is unfortunate as separate categories for non-conjoined clauses with and without an initial adverbial, and for conjoined clauses are essential, as these do correspond with the domains of distinct element-orders. Results (with the modifications noted above) are drawn from his tables three, four and six (pp.

135-136; 139-140 and 146-147) and are presented below alongside my findings from CH and SH. The category of verb is here used to refer to the finite verb in both simple and complex verb phrases. Some summation of my results has therefore been necessary in order to facilitate comparison. It must be stressed that the categories used by Carlton and presented below are dangerously broad, particularly in independent clauses, a category which combines conjoined and non-conjoined clauses, and those with and without an initial adverbial. Figures for the occurrence of S-V and V-S are as follows:

9th Century

	S-V	V-S	TOTAL
Independent clauses	65 59%	45 41%	110
Class I dependent	37 95%	2 5%	39
Class II dependent	66 99%	1 1%	67
Class III dependent	42 95%	2 5%	44
Total	210 81%	50 19%	260

10th Century

	S-V	V-S	TOTAL
Independent clauses	129 49%	133 51%	262
Class I dependent	80 96%	3 4%	83
Class II dependent	139 99%	2 1%	141
Class III dependent	82 98%	2 2%	84
Total	430 75%	140 25%	570

11th Century

	S-V	V-S	TOTAL
Independent clauses	108 61%	70 39%	178
Class I dependent	47 98%	1 2%	48
Class II dependent	148 99%	1 1%	149
Class III dependent	46 96%	2 4%	48
Total	349 83%	74 17%	423

Catholic Homilies

	S-V	V-S	TOTAL
Independent clauses	2530 76%	780 24%	3310
Nominal clauses	288 99%	4 1%	292
Adjectival clauses	182 99%	2 1%	184
Adverbial clauses	1201 98%	26 2%	1227
Total	4201 84%	812 16%	5013

Supplementary Homilies

	S-V	V-S	TOTAL
Independent clauses	1988 82%	436 18%	2424
Nominal clauses	281 98%	5 2%	286
Adjectival clauses	198 99%	1 1%	199
Adverbial clauses	965 97%	26 3%	991
Total	3432 88%	468 12%	3900

Carlton's figures show that S-V order in all clause types predominates in charters of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, accounting for a minimum of 75% of the total, and a maximum of 83%. Dependent clauses are most strongly inclined towards S-V order, which consistently comprises 95% or more of instances throughout the three centuries. Independent clauses are most likely to show inversion, a feature which according to Carlton's figures was more common in the tenth century than in either the preceding or the following century (a result which I find most unsatisfactory). The results from CH and SH are in broad agreement with Carlton's results, the comparison between the charters of the eleventh century and CH being especially close. While eleventh century charters show 17% instances of inversion, CH show 16%, virtually an identical result. For SH the equivalent result is 12%. It is certain that total figures for element-order in different clause categories must be treated with the utmost caution, as they can only be of value if the various clause categories which constitute the domain of different element-order patterns occur with the same frequency - a state unlikely to be found in material as different as charters and homilies. Possibly the infrequency of inversion in SH could be taken as a slight indication of its modernity with respect to both CH and to the charters.

For the order of direct object relative to the verb the following figures may be observed:

9th Century

	O-V	V-O	TOTAL
Independent clauses	18 21%	67 69%	85
Class I dependent	13 57%	10 43%	23
Class II dependent	39 100%	0 0%	39
Class III dependent	22 85%	4 15%	26
Total	92 53%	81 47%	173

10th Century

	O-V	V-O	TOTAL
Independent clauses	31 16%	168 84%	199
Class I dependent	14 39%	22 61%	36
Class II dependent	57 89%	7 11%	64
Class III dependent	29 76%	9 24%	38
Total	131 39%	206 61%	337

11th Century

	O-V	V-O	TOTAL
Independent clauses	10 9%	99 91%	109
Class I dependent	6 21%	23 79%	29
Class II dependent	79 87%	12 13%	91
Class III dependent	15 100%	0 0%	15
Total	110 45%	134 55%	244

Catholic Homilies

	O-V	V-O	TOTAL
Independent clauses	451 24%	144 76%	1892
Nominal clauses	59 44%	74 64%	133
Adjectival clauses	141 71%	59 29%	1200
Adverbial clauses	263 67%	130 33%	393
Total	914 70%	407 30%	1321

Supplementary Homilies

	O-V	V-O	TOTAL
Independent clauses	419 29%	1033 71%	1452
Nominal clauses	49 43%	66 57%	115
Adjectival clauses	183 68%	88 32%	271
Adverbial clauses	219 57%	165 43%	384
Total	870 40%	1352 60%	2222

In independent clauses Carlton observes a steady diachronic increase in the incidence of V-O from 69% in the ninth century, through 84% in the tenth century, to 91% in the eleventh century. The equivalent figure for CH is 76%, and for SH 71%. Both these results are closer to the pattern of the ninth century than that of the tenth or eleventh centuries. It may be suggested that the

explanation of these results lies within differences in the nature of the prose of charters and homilies. The prose of charters is in general concerned to present facts, and must favour therefore the clearest possible manner of presentation. Placing a noun post-verbally did, it would seem, indicate that it was likely to be an object, and may therefore have been favoured in the interest of clarity within charter material. Ælfric, by contrast, chose on occasions to use pre-verbal direct objects for literary effect. The difference between the charters and Ælfric is not one of change in element-order through time, but rather a difference between literal prose and literary prose.

For adjectival clauses a contrasting result may be observed. Carlton's figures show that post-verbal positioning of the direct object was rare in the ninth century (he finds no instances, though his sample is not large enough to conclude that the pattern cannot occur). The element-order is established in the charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, accounting for 11% and 13% respectively. Results from Ælfric for this feature are 29% in CH and 32% in SH. It may be that the figures reflect a diachronic development for Ælfric's prose, with both CH and SH in this feature being ahead of their time in comparison with the charter material, but it is more likely that the result is once again a reflection of differences in the nature of the prose types.

Nominal clauses show a pattern which can be interpreted adequately only by taking into account both stylistic features, as observed in the independent clauses, and diachronic features, as in the adjectival clauses. Carlton's results show a progression for ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries of 43%, 61% and 79% respectively of post-verbal direct objects. Results for CH and SH are 64% and 57% respectively. Within a diachronic progression these suggest comparison with the results from the tenth century.

Difficult of interpretation are Carlton's results for adverbial clauses. The increase in post-verbal direct objects from 15% in the ninth century to 24% in the tenth century suggests a diachronic development; the 0% recorded for the eleventh century at first seems fatal to this theory, though it must be treated with caution because Carlton's sample is of only fifteen clauses. Results from CH of 33% and SH of 43% do favour a diachronic solution, and one which might indicate the modernity of Ælfric in element-order, especially in SH. For indirect object position figures are as follows:

9th Century

	I-V	V-I	TOTAL
Independent clauses	9 21%	34 79%	43
Class I dependent	2 40%	3 60%	5
Class II dependent	7 88%	1 12%	8
Class III dependent	2 100%	0 0%	2
Total	20 34%	38 66%	58

10th Century

	I-V	V-I	TOTAL
Independent clauses	15 18%	67 82%	82
Class I dependent	5 63%	3 37%	8
Class II dependent	11 73%	4 27%	15
Class III dependent	4 57%	3 43%	7
Total	35 31%	77 69%	112

11th Century

	I-V	V-I	TOTAL
Independent clauses	3 5%	53 95%	56
Class I dependent	2 17%	10 83%	12
Class II dependent	19 79%	5 21%	24
Class III dependent	1 100%	0 0%	1
Total	25 26%	68 74%	93

Catholic Homilies

	I-V	V-I	TOTAL
Independent clauses	200 46%	231 54%	431
Nominal clauses	19 79%	5 21%	24
Adjectival clause	38 95%	2 5%	40
Adverbial clauses	92 46%	109 54%	201
Total	349 50%	347 50%	696

Supplementary Homilies

	I-V	V-I	TOTAL
Independent clauses	189 40%	281 60%	470
Nominal clauses	16 57%	12 43%	28
Adjectival clauses	57 73%	21 27%	78
Adverbial clauses	38 34%	73 66%	111
Total	300 44%	387 56%	687

Only Carlton's sample for independent clauses is large enough to be considered reliable. His results show an increase in post-verbal positioning of the indirect object, with results from the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries respectively being 79%, 82% and 95%. This indicates a diachronic development. The results from Ælfric are at variance - 54% and 60% from CH and SH respectively. It would appear that the motivation for this difference must lay in the different subject matter of charters and homilies.

Sprockel's study describes some aspects of element-order within the Parker Chronicle, making a diachronic distinction between annals 1-891, excluding later interpolations (Sprockel's section A), and annals 891-924 (Sprockel's section B). There is much interesting material in his study, though it contains some unfortunate shortcomings.⁵

In the material which follow, Sprockel's categories are used. It has sometimes been necessary to add together results presented by Sprockel in two or more categories in order to facilitate comparison. My own results from CH and SH are presented for comparison with Sprockel.

Sprockel divides his independent clauses into protases and apodoses, the latter comprising both those independent clauses

⁵ These include what seem to me to be weaknesses in his methodology, in that the categories which he uses do not correspond with the domain of element-order patterns. The sample size, which is not stated, may be estimated at around 1,300 clauses, is in my view inadequate for the type of analysis which he attempts. His tables are frequently populated by very small numbers of instances, from which reliable conclusions can scarcely be drawn. Some surprising results are noted, but little attempt is made to explain them.

introduced by a conjunction, and those which are preceded by an adverbial clause which qualifies the main clause (p. 228). This is a distinction I have not made, as it is unhelpful in that it does not correspond to the domain of element-order patterns. In order to make a comparison I have therefore taken Sprockel's categories of protases and apodoses together, and compared these results with the sum of my results for non-conjoined and conjoined independent clauses. The categories of imperative, interrogative and optative independent clauses have been excluded from my figures, as it appears that Sprockel has (silently) excluded them from his results. The following table may be offered:

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>CH</u>	<u>SH</u>
S - V	70%	38%	84%	88%
V - S	30%	62%	16%	12%

The differences obtained by Sprockel between his type A and type B surely requires urgent investigation. The massive reduction in S-V order conflicts with the diachronic move towards S-V. Sprockel suggests (p. 230) that the higher proportion of V-S in B is linked with the greater frequency of protases. It is indeed possible that inversion in B is more common than in A because B contains a higher proportion of initial elements which promote inversion, perhaps as a result of a different style of writing. Sprockel's methodology does not enable him to investigate this area in an adequate manner.

Sprockel discusses the influence of subject weight upon position relative to the finite verb for clauses with heads (p. 236). As has been noted in discussion of Barrett's work, the bold division into clauses with and without heads is unhelpful; comparable results from my study have not therefore been collected. Comparison of Sprockel's results with those presented within this thesis does indicate the enormous range of frequencies of element-order which may be found

within Old English, as for instance 62% V-S in late ninth and early tenth century annals of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and 12% V-S in late tenth century SH. Diachronic factors, though they probably contributed to this change, are not in themselves sufficient to explain a change of this magnitude.

Bean's study is diachronic, requiring that the material she gathers is divided into nine chronological sections. The following statistics are adapted from Bean's table 4.2 (p. 67), which concerns element-order in independent clauses. Though doubts should be expressed at the use or validity of element-order statistics which do not discriminate between clause types, the figures may be presented for comparison with the Ælfric material; they show that the Ælfric material analysed does not fall into place in a graph of the diachronic development of Old English as exemplified by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

		S - V	V - S
I	pre-755	192 80%	48 20%
II	755-860	123 74%	43 26%
III	865-884	51 44%	64 56%
IV	885-891	37 62%	23 38%
V	892-900	47 48%	51 52%
VI	959-001	22 47%	25 53%
VII	1048-66	125 64%	71 36%
VIII	1122-24	62 60%	41 40%
IX	1132-40	61 59%	42 41%
	<u>CH</u>	2530 76%	780 24%
	<u>SH</u>	1988 82%	436 18%

Bean's figures reveal high percentages of S-V order in her first two chronological groups. I suspect that this is a result of the high proportion of non-conjoined declarative independent clauses within the early annals. Sections III to IX show a rise in the percentage of S-V from under half of instances to well over half of instances. The curve is not smooth, though it is likely that such irregular results as those for section IV have much to do with the small sample size. The results from CH and SH are much ahead of the development

shown even by the annals of the twelfth century. It is not feasible to account for a difference of this degree in terms of diachronic change; rather it would appear that homiletic material displayed element-order patterns which differ from those of the annals of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

The conclusion which must be drawn from the examination of element-order studies in comparison with the results from this study is that a smooth diachronic development of element-order features cannot be seen. The primary cause of differences in element-order would appear to be differences in the type of material considered. The element-order apparent in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for sections comparable in terms of time of composition from that of Ælfric differs significantly from that of the Ælfric corpus largely as a result of differences in the nature of the prose.

This thesis has established the nature of the tendencies which govern element-order in the Ælfric corpus, with particular stress on the weight of elements as an organising factor, but accepting that many factors go into the production of a given element-order. Differences between CH and SH have been seen to be slight but pervasive, explicable in terms of the requirements of rhythm and the alliterative form of SH, and perhaps by the concept of modernity in the element-order of SH. Attempts to place the results for the Ælfric corpus within a diachronic framework provided by other studies of Old English element-order are difficult, and frequently inconclusive. While some scant evidence which may be found which suggests modernity in the language of Ælfric, particularly as attested by SH, there is also a realisation that differences in the subject matter and audience of texts analysed has much to do with the different nature of the material which they contain, and relatively little to do with diachronic change. Element-order within Old English is a topic which requires much further investigation. The availability of

computer-based tools for the search and retrieval of data has brought element-order studies utilising a large corpus of material within the scope of a few years' study, and it is to be hoped that this will encourage the production of many detailed examinations of particular texts, which may provide a foundation for a comprehensive understanding of element-order in Old English.

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